

MEXICO

POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY CONSIDERED.

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ST. THOMAS—STATION FOR ROYAL MAIL STEAMERS.

NOTES

IN

MEXICO IN 1861 AND 1862 :

POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY CONSIDERED.

BY

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NOTES IN MEXICO, 1861-62.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE merciful hand of Providence has bestowed on the Mexicans a magnificent land, abounding in resources of all kinds—a land where none ought to be poor, and where misery ought to be unknown—a land whose products and riches of every kind are abundant, and as varied as they are rich. It is a country endowed to profusion with every gift that man can desire or envy;—all the metals from gold to lead; every sort of climate from perpetual snow to tropical heat, and inconceivable fertility. Wheat, maize, barley, sugar, coffee, spices, tobacco, cotton, indigo, drugs, &c., are cultivated with little effort. One thing alone is wanting, that is, a government—and the absence of this mars all the other mani-

fold advantages. The people are docile and easily managed; they care not who rule them (always excepting the Spaniards) so long as they are left in peace and tranquillity to pursue their humble and unambitious life. Three steamers in the Pacific and three in the Gulf would effectually stop all smuggling, and insure an overflowing treasury to any well-regulated administration.

The entire public debt does not exceed \$120,000,000, about £24,000,000 sterling, a mere bagatelle, considering its wealth and resources. Their present unproductiveness arises entirely from mismanagement and malversation. Every man, for years past, when he has secured office — no matter what, from minister downwards, with a few honourable exceptions, — has thought of nothing but enriching himself at the public expense; and this they have managed to do to no small extent, even at the worst of times. The present government, though really representing the constitutional feeling and strength of the country, is weak and vacillating, and has never been able to organise an efficient and strong central moving power, which can be felt through all its dependencies. They naturally look to England as the ark of civil liberty; while the clergy are leaning on France in the hope of reestablishing ecclesiastical

supremacy. The party which most desire intervention are, of course, the landowners, who suffer most cruelly from the exactions of anarchy. Most of their cattle, horses, mules, &c., are taken, their breeding-grounds destroyed, mines abandoned, and in many parts of the country the haciendas burnt down and ruined by the one party or the other of those who have been for years tearing the bosom of their common country; while the complete overthrow of the priestly domination offers an opportunity for the introduction of arts and literature, which has never before had a chance of dawning upon them. They know all this well; and were it not for our blind and unhappy convention last year in this matter, France and England would be received with open arms, and will still, if they listen to reason.

The country, with the exception of the capital, is virtually subject to the whims or policy of the military commander, who, for the time being, is in possession of the town or province. These chiefs, up to the present time, have refused obedience to all authority with perfect impunity whenever it suited them. They levy war, exact contributions and loans; seize and confiscate property; and, where resistance is offered, imprison individuals, both native and foreign — exercising absolute despotic power, uncontrolled, un-

punished, and frequently unrebuked, as much as in the pashalicks of Asia. The central government fears to reprove its own officers, lest their lukewarm adherence be turned into declared hostility, which it is not strong enough to resent and punish.

England has no views which shun the light, no covetous or disguised designs. The day of deception and deceit with her is long past and gone; she knows that honesty and honour are the best policy, and the highest wisdom for nations, as well as individuals. Men may affect to disbelieve this, but the fact is true and resistless, and the day is fast approaching when few, if any, will dare to gainsay it. She desires neither dominion nor aggrandisement in Mexico; neither political influence nor commercial advantage or privilege. She has disavowed all such as foreign to her theories and practice; she is opposed to any interference in the domestic concerns of any nation, and can only be prevailed to depart from her principles by the extraordinary circumstances of this case. She feels that it is imperatively necessary to prevent Mexico from relapsing into barbarism, to extinguish the anarchy and crime which have for years reigned triumphant, unpunished, unchecked, and unrestrained, and restore protection to life and property.

There can be no reconciliation of parties there. It is a war to the knife, between a demoralised and ignorant priesthood, smarting under their deposition from unlimited wealth and power, and a progressive and arrogant ultra-liberalism. The animosities are inconceivably intense and virulent: one party or the other must succumb and be completely subjugated before moderate and calm counsels can prevail. It is idle and wicked to shut one's eyes to the fact or evade it; we cannot escape the consequences by any empirical treatment or diplomatic humbug. We ought to be present in force sufficient to overawe opposition; and very little is wanted (say 4,000 men) to induce the honest and good citizens to exert themselves to denounce the bad (not to imprison or shoot them, but to restrain them by law and well-armed authority)—and to proclaim the independent nationality of the country.

Is it not worth while, in common humanity, to extend a helping hand to such an important country, and prevent its ruin and return to barbarism? Can we tamely see it fall into the slavery of the Southern States of America? * would it not be better for the

* *Slavery* was abolished at the independence, and there has never again been the slightest intimation of any wish, on the part of anyone, to restore or reintroduce the infamous traffic into the country.

whole world that it should remain an independent nationality, open to all and belonging exclusively to none? Why, with thirty odd years of misrule and murder — with half its revenue plundered by malversation and smuggling — with scarcely two consecutive years of peace — Mexico is still rich and flourishing. What would she be if rendered secure and tranquil? The effect would be instantaneous and magical. There would not be a whisper of discon-

There is, however, a well-founded fear that a number of Yucatan Indians have been sold into Cuba, as they are very refractory, and, when made prisoners, the two and a half days' sail is very tempting to get rid altogether of such very troublesome neighbours; but it is against both the law and the universal feeling of the country. A former American minister, Gadsden, was very anxious to negotiate an extradition treaty for runaway slaves, but did not succeed, it would be of great importance to Texas, as there is no difficulty at present in escaping over the frontier into Mexican territory. In some parts of the south the Indians are held in a species of bondage by a running debt to the hacienda, the ancient laws prohibiting their removal without payment. But their wages are on the most wretched scale. They are, in fact, not very far removed from servitude, but cling with the most desperate tenacity to liberty; and as they have few wants, and make themselves all that supplies those few wants, they are universally contented in Mexico, except under the Spaniards, who use them with the most cruel harshness. During the Yankee occupation of Mexico they were invariably spoken of as niggers, and treated with the most supreme contempt. The Minister (Gadsden) made no secret of his views, declaring that his opinion was that slavery was the only means of 'improving' them, and that it was only through slavery that the resources of the country could be properly developed. What, then, is likely to be the fate of the Mexicans under rulers of this stamp and complexion?

tent from Chihuahua to Tabasco. Commerce would flourish, industry revive, and wealth, in every shape and form, abound. The ordinary revenue would immediately cover all expenses and very speedily exceed them. But we must cut our disreputable connection with Spain, and take care that France also is not too much influenced by the virulent declamations of the exiled clergy, who are moving heaven and earth in Europe to recover their lost sway. England has a great duty to perform in endeavouring to extinguish the system of anarchy and crime, which has been too long tolerated with indifference, and is a reproach to the age. She has far greater interests in the well-being of Mexico than all the other nations put together — a country not hostile, but inviting her with open arms — a country unequalled in the whole area of the world for riches, teeming with wealth of every variety under the sun, and of the most important description — a country young and vigorous, with a docile population. The Mexican people are ignorant and superstitious, it is true, but susceptible of great improvement, having never yet had a chance of national moral culture. And yet at present England seems moving as the tool of such an unmitigated scoundrel as Miramon — a man whom, if there existed an extradition treaty, we

should have insisted on being hung. Gabriad,* the fosterer of this man's murderous rule, and Pacheco,†

* In the papers of the Archbishop of Mexico was found a recommendation of this man to the prayers and favour of the Pope, for the valuable services he had rendered the clerical party in the revolution of Mexico, and the recognition of Miramon, their champion.

† The following circular will explain the reason of this Minister's expulsion :—

National Palace, January 15, 1861.

In order that you may bring to the knowledge of the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Government, near which you are accredited, the reason why the President has thought proper to order the departure from the Republic of MM. Don Joaquin Francisco Pacheco, Don Felipe Neri del Barrio, and Don Louis Clementi, Archbishop of Damascus, as you will see by the communication which accompany this note, I proceed to make a short statement with regard thereto. M. Pacheco came here, not long since, accredited expressly in the character of Ambassador of Her Most Catholic Majesty, to the Government so called which occupied this capital, of which Don Miguel Miramon acted as chief. A few days after his arrival, he caused himself to be received by the rebel Government; and besides the support which in his official character he thus lent to the faction which had succeeded in holding the capital for three years, he, by his policy, his expressed opinion, and his open influence, lent himself to the maintenance of the rebel Government and the prolongation of civil war.

The Constitutional Government of the Republic, which has never ceased to discharge its functions during this long period of civil war, notwithstanding its official relations with Spain have been interrupted, does not actually see in M. Pacheco the representative of H.C.M., with whose Government the Constitutional Government of the Republic desires to cultivate the best relations, and is ready to terminate existing differences in good-will, regulating itself always by the principles of the strictest justice; but in ordering the departure from the country of M. Pacheco, the Government acts simply

both of whom have been hooted out of the country, with well-merited and universal execration — these are the men who are moving the strings at Paris, with Almonte, their able ex-ambassador. The clergy

on the exercise of its prerogatives, viewing him only as a foreigner falling under the stipulations of the Thirty-third Article of our constitution.

M. del Barrio, for a long time Minister of Guatemala, accredited to this Republic, has not only had continual official relations with the rebels for the last three years, but has made his partiality open for the reactionary faction, to which he lent his most decided support in the unhappy *coup d'état* of December 1857 — a matter of public notoriety. This minister was almost the first who hastened to recognise the usurper Zuloaga, and who mainly induced other members of the diplomatic corps to do the same. Notwithstanding, he took this unjustifiable step with the knowledge that the existing Government was lawfully installed at Guanajuato in January 1856. The Constitutional Government cannot allow this gentleman, thus abusing his position, to continue fomenting civil war. For this reason it causes his departure from the Republic, without intending, however, that such a measure of internal policy should, in any degree, imply a hostile spirit toward the Republic of Guatemala, which M. del Barrio has represented.

Don Louis Clementi has held in this country the mission of Nuncio from His Holiness the Pope. His disposition, and the general tone of the Roman Church, which he has represented, has caused him to figure throughout the civil war as a partisan of the seditious clergy of the Republic, who, to the greatest degree, have stained with blood the past revolution in this country, under the pretext of religion.

Now that the Mexican Republic has, in the exercise of its sovereign power, declared religious liberty, and the absolute independence of each other of Church and State, the official representative of the Roman Church can have no mission whatever to attend to near the general Government of the Republic.

Neither of these gentlemen has been officially accredited to the

of France are in accord with their distressed and exiled brethren, and the Emperor is partly forced and partly cajoled; but how can we explain the action of England? We were aiding a power that never paid us a shilling in collecting a very questionable debt in Mexico, and reestablishing a religious dominion, which is abhorrent to the mind of every honest Englishman.

The 'London Quarterly Review' for October 1860, remarks: — 'The early history of South America must for ever stand out preeminent in the records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the New World is the great romance of history, its settlement and conquest form one of its deepest tragedies; for the subjugation of some of the finest regions of the globe, by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men, upon whom the multiplying villanies of nature swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the transatlantic empire of Spain have, from the day on which she first planted her

Constitutional Government for the last three years; consequently their expulsion is nothing more than an act of public order, which is carried into effect through the provisions of the supreme law of the land, and in the exercise of the prerogatives with which the Government is invested, &c., &c.

OCAMPO.*

To the Mexican Legation at —.

* This public spirited minister was brutally murdered at his own private residence last year, after two days' torture, by Miramon's forces.

foot in the New World, to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of its creatures, and the power of man to counteract them.'

The 'North British Review' for November 1860, says : — ' We find in them the elements of the same antagonistic parties as have long been contending in the older Catholic countries of Europe ; a priestly party, jealous of all liberty, and striving to bring the community more than ever under the influence of Rome ; and, on the other hand, a party struggling for freedom, giving utterance to noble sentiments, that shine the brighter for the dark firmament on which they gleam, and encouraging hope for a better day than those republics have as yet seen.'

Having spent the year 1860 in Brazil, I cannot help contrasting the state of things I found there with Mexico, similar as the conditions have been in the two cases. The Brazilian Empire stands out from this dark and forbidding picture in bold, colossal, and pleasing proportions. That empire, originally a dependency of Portugal, was, under the rule of that country, reduced to a condition more abject even than any of the Spanish-American colonies. In no portion of the American continent was the slave-trade carried on so extensively as with Brazil. Early in the present century, and before the severance of the colony from Portugal, it is estimated that 50,000 blacks were annually shipped from the coast of Africa to Brazil. It is, however, proper to state that, for a long period, this trade, by means of the factory at Lisbon, was in the hands of the

English. It may also be said, that in no part of the world was the system of slavery attended with greater barbarity than in Brazil. It was considered cheaper in the plantations to use up a slave in five or six years, and buy another, than to take care of him.

The bigoted and intolerant Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century—the curse of Spanish America—was sustained with greater vigour, and more pomp and splendour, than in Italy.

The general system on which Portugal ruled her vast dependency created a stupendous commercial trading and manufacturing monopoly. The article on the Brazilian Empire, in the ‘London Quarterly Review,’ October 1860, to which we have above referred, states:—

All intercourse with foreigners was prohibited by the most rigid laws; and if a relaxation of jealousy was occasionally permitted in favour of foreign nations in close alliance with the mother country, the passengers and crews of such ships as were allowed to enter the waters of Rio, or any of the Brazilian ports, were placed under the *surveillance* of a military guard. *The colonists were not allowed to produce any article which the mother-country could supply.*

Even Humboldt, in travelling in South America for purely scientific purposes, was not allowed to enter any portion of the Brazilian empire.

In short, all those prominent evils that have so afflicted Mexico, and, we may say, all other Spanish-American countries, had still deeper root, if such a thing were possible, in the Portuguese dependency of Brazil. But now, how changed!

The abject dependence of Brazil continued down to an early period of the present century, when the world-moving operations of Napoleon had the effect so to vitalise that country, and create such remarkable changes, both there and in the mother-country, that in 1822 the independence of Brazil was suddenly and almost peacefully accomplished. In 1824, the same year that witnessed the formation of the federal constitution of Mexico, the present constitution of Brazil (with the exception of some slight changes recently made) was established. This constitution provides for a hereditary constitutional monarchy of the most liberal character. Judicial proceedings are public. It provides for the habeas corpus act as well as the institution of trial by jury. The legislative power is vested in the general assembly. It consists of a senate and chamber of deputies. For the latter, every male citizen of full age, if he possess an income of one hundred *milreis* (fifty dollars), is entitled to vote; but monks and domestic servants are excluded from the franchise. Senators for life are nominated by provincial electors in triple lists, from which three candidates are submitted to the emperor, who selects one; the principles of popular election and crown nomination are thus combined in the constitution of the second estate. Although Brazil does not possess the materials of a territorial peerage, it has constituted a second chamber as an element of vital importance in a popular government. Nobility in Brazil is not hereditary; it is conferred for public services and civil merit alone. There are four titles—those of marquis, count, viscount, and baron. The emperor possesses a legislative suspensive veto only.

The dispensation of justice, although perhaps not perfect, or free from some suspicion of corruption, is conducted with becoming solemnity, and is, on the whole, said to be satisfactory. One of the legal institutions of the country merits particular notice. Courts of conciliation are established throughout the empire; and no cause can be brought into any of the regular courts of law without a certificate from the district officer, that the parties to the suit have previously appeared before him and endeavoured to accommodate their differences. We commend this law to our legal reformers, as it must inevitably diminish immensely the amount of unnecessary litigation.

The country is divided into provinces, and there is a legislative assembly for each province. The presidents of the provinces are appointed by the emperor. There is no proscription on account of colour; and though legally the blacks are eligible to office, they do not aspire to prominence in public or private life, but rest quiet and contented in the conviction that they occupy a position fully equal to what nature intended it should be.

The religion of the state is Roman Catholic; *but the principle upon which the Roman Catholic Church is based is altogether abjured in Brazil. Religious toleration is one of the fundamental principles of the constitution. All have full and entire liberty to profess and exercise any religion whatever, and to erect religious edifices.* The provincial assemblies have full power to legislate for ecclesiastical objects. On several occasions, the general assembly of Brazil has enacted laws to restrain the interference and curtail the authority of the Pope. At one remarkable crisis a complete

separation from Rome was imminent, which would have been hailed, it is believed, with general satisfaction by the people. There cannot be a doubt but that the ties which bind this country to the Papacy are now of the slightest character, and might, with very little provocation, be snapped asunder any day. The religion of the Church of Rome has no root in the land; the priesthood are said to be diminishing year by year, and to have been recently so reduced in number, that the Government was under the necessity of sending to Italy for a fresh supply to keep up the regular ministrations of the church.

The institution of slavery in Brazil, under the operation of the constitution and public opinion, is in process of gradual and certain extinction. In 1850 measures were adopted for the abolition of the slave trade, and, in 1853, there was not a single disembarkation. As a proof that the Brazilians have thoroughly abandoned the traffic in human flesh, it may be stated, that a slaver taken in January 1856, into Bahia, and condemned, had touched at five places along the coast previous to her detection, but had not succeeded in selling a single slave.

The condition of the slaves is highly creditable to the country. By the Brazilian law, a slave can at any time appear before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and purchase his freedom. There is a system of colonisation in progress intended to supply the gradually diminishing quantity of slave-labour, and the statesmen of the empire are said to be devoting much time and attention to discover the best means of promoting immigration. Germany, Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira, are constantly

supplying labourers, attracted by the prospect which Brazil holds out to them, and there seems to be no doubt that the free African population will eventually fully suffice for those occupations in a tropical country for which the white race is necessarily unfitted.

For more than 300 years, the entire agricultural and manufacturing interests of Brazil, from north to south, from east to west, have been based on slave labour. The institution of slavery has entered more thoroughly into the industrial system of Brazil than it has into that of the United States. Natural causes favour the system of slave labour in Brazil more than they do in the United States; and though the number of slaves in the former country reaches 3,000,000, the institution of slavery is steadily and surely coming to an end in that empire. And yet, though freedom of speech is allowed, and the press is free, they never had an anti-slavery society in Brazil, nor an anti-slavery journal.

The Emperor of Brazil is a noble representative of the house of Braganza, and under the constitution which he faithfully administers, the country is making prodigious strides in intellectual and material advancement. It is true that, as yet, the standard of Brazilian morality is not of the highest order, but the country is in a transition state. Education, intelligence, and civilisation are steadily spreading over the land. The public credit is almost equal to that of the most respectable European governments, and a country of which, the first year or two of its independence, the currency consisted chiefly of copper and the notes of an insolvent bank, may now present itself as a

borrower in the capitals of any of the moneyed states of Europe, with the assurance of a favourable reception.

The population is steadily increasing. A large and most valuable trade has sprung up; and there is scarcely a civilised country that does not gladly exchange its manufactures and commodities for the productions of Brazil.

Here, then, we have a vast and magnificent region, lavishly endowed by nature—sparsely inhabited at present, it is true—yet making wonderful progress in all that constitutes national greatness and power.

If, in giving this succinct outline of the Brazilian empire, I have digressed from my principal theme, it is to institute a comparison between that country and Mexico; and to hold up the former in all its magnificent proportions and rapid advancement, as an interesting and instructive study for our own people, and in opposition to the despicable idea, so prevalent, that something like a curse rests upon the Spanish-American race, and that the Anglo-Saxon race, under Providence, is to be the instrument for the execution of this curse, by sweeping those despised nationalities from the face of the earth.

Forty years ago, the masses of the Brazilian people were in that abject condition but little above the brute. Now, these same masses are making such rapid progress in all that tends to national greatness, that in the ordinary course of events, they will, at no very remote period, command the admiration and respect of the most enlightened peoples and rank among the leading Powers of the world.

Brazil started on her new political career the same year as Mexico. The population of the former country is but

little more than that of the latter, and the characteristics of race in both countries are similar. In climate and physical features there is not sufficient difference between Brazil and Mexico to create any marked dissimilarity of character in the two nations. Brazil started with a constitutional monarchy; Mexico adopted the democratic form of government. I do not propose to argue the point, as to which of these two forms of government is the best for the Spanish-American people. At the present moment, I wish to point out the great fact—the most important fact of all, namely, that the foundation of the government of Brazil was *civil and religious liberty*, while that of Mexico was *civil and religious despotism* of the most degrading and despotic character. Now compare the condition of the two countries. One affords an astonishing, stupendous example of progress; the other lies prostrate, wretched, and bleeding, with scarcely strength to profit by the victory over the enemies of her freedom, which has recently been so gloriously won. Can any one be blind to the real cause of the immense difference that now exists between Mexico and Brazil?

Brazil is the only country in Spanish America whose fundamental law has sustained religious toleration, and she is the only bright example of advancement among those degenerated and unhappy nations.

But to return to the question of Mexican nationality. The liberals have gained a complete victory over the forces of the church, and the Constitutional Government is now located in the capital of the republic. This victory came none too soon. It improved the condition of affairs vastly; but a new season of trial is now before those patriotic

Mexicans, whose noble and self-sacrificing struggles have brought about the former happy result. It remains to be seen whether the liberals will be united among themselves, and whether foreign claimants will show any mercy. Let Mexico now be true to herself, and there is reason to hope that all will be well.

It is unfair to estimate that country by the highest in Europe. The fairest comparison is with Spain, and with Spain alone. The people also have been much misrepresented in Europe, and unjustly maligned by many of the public papers. Public men there are far superior in education and intelligence, in general attainments, and even in urbanity and courtesy, to many of the ministers sent from Europe.

Some years ago there was a public prosecution by the British Legation of a member of Congress (Zarco) and a custom-house officer, because they denounced the infamous smuggling transactions and other disreputable proceedings of one of our consuls in the Pacific ; and pecuniary indemnity was exacted and *enforced* for crimes which in any other country would have been marked by the severest reprobation and visited with punishment — (Lord Clarendon knows something about this). It was a private letter to him which alone prevented the eternal disgrace of a British force appearing in the Gulf to enforce and

support this infamous proceeding; but indemnity was nevertheless obtained in hard cash.

These cases could be multiplied. Our whole diplomatic and consular history for the last thirteen or fourteen years has been a reproach to Europe; and we are not alone—the dignitaries of some other nations have rivalled us; but our boasted superior morality makes us the more conspicuous. Now all these flagrant corruptions are well known to the natives, patent as the sun at noon to all; yet we assail them with epithets of inferiority, barbarism, &c., accuse them of, bad faith in their engagements, plunder, robbery, and so forth; and we do as bad ourselves, for I hold any departure from the path of honour by an officer of the crown of England is tenfold, nay a hundredfold, more criminal than the same delinquency in a Mexican, however high his rank. We are among the oldest nations in the globe, the foremost in intelligence and in civilisation, and with the highest advantages—Mexico is about the youngest and the least favoured by education,—and all chances, in fact, of high moral or intellectual developement. The contrast is great, and all crime is comparative.*

* We have remarked upon the character of the foreign diplomacy which has hitherto prevailed in Mexico. England has carefully

INTRODUCTORY.

Let us give them a specimen of our boasted superiority by sending upright and enlightened men and gentlemen to represent the crown of Britain. Give them some example of our standard of public men, and the honour of British public servants. Send them men at all events of probity and principle, who will not make their countrymen blush for them. The standard of the British character there has been lowered — immeasurably lowered — in the estimation of the Mexican people, by the conduct of our official representatives. Some of them have been needy and embarrassed, and specially open to corrupt influences. The diplomatic protection was a traffic, and chiefly bestowed on persons who had no legal or legitimate right to it, far less their speculations and interests. (See p. 180.)

The British character is sunk in the public estimation; the laxity of principle among our public men has there infected the whole mass of British

nursed those evils which have already come so near destroying Mexican nationality. England has pursued this course in spite of irrefragable evidence, that in so doing she was completely annihilating her Mexican interests.

The policy that England has pursued towards Mexico is inexplicable, except in the fact that a few interested individuals, official and private, control the action of the English government, and public opinion in England, on Mexican affairs, to the total destruction of the general and legitimate English interests in that country. (See also p. 177.)

society; all the restraints which high principle ought to impart have been weakened.

• Still Mexico has a reverence for England, which she does not show for any other nation; for they know the nation at large wishes to deal honestly by them.

It is the impunity of silence and concealment, and the indifference of the Foreign Office, that has encouraged and fostered this great evil.

All these facts may be fully relied on; and any public man in England, who will devote some attention to them, and remedy them, will perform a great service to his own country, as well as to Mexico, and to humanity and civilisation, and morality itself.

Let us now look shortly at the history of past events in Mexico.

The religion of Spain and the feelings it excited begat a species of knight-errantry, which led the young bloods to do battle for the beauty of a mistress, the honour of St. Jago, or the Immaculate Conception, with equal pertinacity and ferocity.

The expeditions which Spain sent from her shores to plant the standard of her empire in the New World, were imbued with such feelings to an intensity it is now hard to conceive. Stimulated besides

with the thirst of gold, they spread devastation wherever they marched, and inflicted on the simple natives tortures and sufferings, differing little, except in duration, from the pains which the priests, who always accompanied the expeditions, announced as awaiting the wretched victims in another world. These priests also insisted invariably on the blindest submission in spiritual matters, which it was not unreasonably expected would secure civil dependence. As a consequence, few colonists were allowed to carry arms; so that within a century they became so utterly incapable of self-defence as to fall an easy prey to the buccaneers. While they were not likely to be called on to exercise any public functions, they had no inducements, even if they had the means, to qualify themselves for the discharge of any public duties to society. The laws were unknown to all but the Europeans, who presided in the courts, and were strained and perverted, so as to destroy all respect for their administration.*

* It is a well-understood fact, that when Spain exercised her dominion over Mexican territory, the city of Mexico was the centre of political, religious, financial, and social influence and power throughout all that portion of the Spanish possessions. The Spaniards were supreme throughout the length and breadth of the land. They held every office of the Government; they monopolised the best trade of the country, and nearly all the active capital. Every avenue to political or social prominence of position was, for

The sea-shore being generally unhealthy, the more elevated plateaux were peopled by the densest population. Mexico, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, are all in the interior, and communication between them and Europe is difficult, hazardous, and protracted, even without the various impediments and restrictions which the home government interposed to limit the intercommunication and knowledge of neighbouring colonies. Colonies they were not, strictly speaking.

three centuries, most effectually closed to native-born Mexicans—Creoles even not being allowed to hold office, or to take part or lot in the management of the affairs of the country, either political, religious, or social. To such a degree of degradation were the native citizens of the country reduced, that the highest born, best educated, and most refined Mexican lady would wed with a common Spanish boor rather than with a native Mexican gentleman, in order to secure something like a social position, and escape the odium and oppression that fell to the lot of the cruelly-proscribed Mexican race. Hence, with the first revolution, arose the popular cry of '*Death to the Gachupins!*' Who can wonder that the Mexicans hate the Spaniards with undying hatred?

The recent diplomatic action of France and Spain in Mexico has been scarcely less disastrous to the latter country than has that of England. I am inclined to believe that this ruinous policy of European Powers in Mexico, except Spain, has, in the main, been based on false information from sources deemed reliable. I conceive this to be the case, more particularly with France; for, considering the independent position in which she stands relative to the Mexican republic, it is difficult to imagine what interest the practical and enlightened statesman, who administers the government of the French empire with so much wisdom and success, can have in supporting a policy in Mexico totally opposed to that which he so powerfully sustains in Italy.

The Spanish-American possessions, even where they were separate property, were held in fief by the crown in right of grants from the Pope, and governed by a special board, called the Council of the Indies, and a separate code. Each viceroy was independent of all but the Crown, though nominally controlled by the Audiencia, composed of Europeans, who were never allowed to marry, or hold lands in the colony. The offices were all sold at Madrid, and the proceeds formed at one time a very considerable item in the royal revenues. All public employments were in the hands of Europeans, as the native colonists could not get them without an enormous outlay. Of fifty viceroys of Mexico, only one was American born. So at Buenos Ayres, of 170 only four were natives. How was it possible to obtain redress for even the most flagrant injustice from such a Government. The complaints addressed to the throne were either lost in the distance of many thousand leagues, or if they got there, smothered at the court by those who protected the very men who had perpetrated the iniquities complained of. The colony had no voice, direct or indirect, in legislation: all that was done in Spain; and any attempt to win freedom was crushed with a severity which invented the most unheard-of cruelties, and mercilessly executed them. Agriculture

was subjected to the most arbitrary restrictions; native Americans were prevented by severe penalties from raising flax, hemp, or saffron. During Humboldt's visit to Mexico, the viceroy received orders from Madrid to root up all the vines in the northern provinces; because the merchants of Cadiz complained of a diminution of the consumption of their wines.

Humboldt tells us that the manufacture of cloth prevailed extensively among the colonists, but that the Government employed every indirect means to hinder the manufactures. He gives an instance of two noblemen who brought over to America a colony of artisans; the Government affected to applaud their zeal, but so contrived to fetter all their proceedings that they at last perceived secret orders had been given to the viceroy to ruin their undertaking; and they were compelled to abandon it in despair. Captain Basil Hall tells us, the sole purpose for which the colonies existed was held to be collecting gold and silver for the mother-country. If the horses and cattle which overrun the country could have performed this office, the inhabitants might have been altogether dispensed with, and the system would have been perfect; but the Spanish Americans, notwithstanding the network of their chains, longed for the enjoyments congenial to their nature; and

in process of time there arose the most extraordinary system of organised smuggling the world has ever seen. Vessels armed and manned to fight their way to the coast through the guarda costas of Spain swarmed along the whole line : Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, and United States men, distributed goods to an immense value through the Spanish possessions, in the teeth of an armed restriction of all commerce or intercourse whatever maintained to the very last by Spain.

The civil, criminal, and fiscal administration corresponded to the rest of the political system. Taxes, duties, and tithes, were levied with a severity unknown in any part of the world but Spain itself. The alcavala, the most vexatious of all, as it was levied on every transfer of goods, was mercilessly exacted. Nothing escaped the tithes ; and every individual in the country was forced annually to buy a certain number of Pope's bulls, under penalties. A man, for instance, who had not a *bula de confesion* could not receive absolution on his death-bed ; his will became invalid, and his property confiscated. The courts of law were mere farces ; the prisons under no control or supervision ; and the notorious instance of Lima, where, on the taking of the city, they were found crammed with prisoners long forgotten

by the courts, and against whom no charge whatever was found recorded, was by no means a singular case. The law made it a capital offence for any foreigner to enter the country without a license, and the dread of other governments alone prevented its execution; but they subjected such victims as they got hold of to the most horrible imprisonment. When the Spanish General, Morillo, entered Cartagena, he seized all the British and foreign merchants and threw them into loathsome dungeons, and would unquestionably have killed them all, for a breach of the 'Laws of the Indies,' but for the timely arrival of the British Admiral on the station. Hence the revolutionary struggles of Spanish colonies have been fearful; but the horrors perpetrated by the revolutionary party, though utterly disgraceful, have never come up in atrocity to those of the Spanish Crown and Church. The barbarities of Callegas at Guanajuato, and Cuantla de Amilpas, have no parallels in history.

Such was the rule overthrown successfully by Iturbide and his adherents. Is it likely that the memory of it has been lost? There are many still living who were actual sufferers, and have themselves narrated to me the horrors the country underwent. Their children are men in arms against the hated

Spaniards, whose political intrigues are honestly believed to have been the cause of most of the misfortunes of Mexico since the day she achieved her independence. The men who have represented Mexico in all the courts of Europe are members of that party. I never heard in Mexico one single word of all the proposals which I found represented in the European public papers as coming from the people of Mexico. Even Almonte, the most detested of all the exiles of the clerical party, with the sole exception of the ruffian Miramon, I saw was called in a late article from Paris, in the 'Times,' 'Ambassador from Mexico.' Ambassador accredited by whom I should like to know? And representing what interest? No; the clerical party is identified with the Spanish policy, and shares the national hatred with them; and the odium which most righteously attaches to them not unfairly reacts on those who abet them, though innocent of their crimes, and even ignorant of the natural consequence of them—the national hatred of an emancipated people.

From its renunciation of the Spanish rule Mexico has presented, almost without an interval, a deplorable spectacle of mal-administration. The experiment of self-government, after thirty-five years of revolution and exhausting civil war, has proved a lamentable failure.

With no lack of patriotism, and a consciousness of their responsible position, their leaders have shown blind persistence in frantic sectional strife and aimless revolutions, each of which has but the more fatally impelled the country towards its present enfeebled condition. In the vain endeavour to supply radical defects by a reorganisation of the social system, violent and frequent changes, involving cruel and furious civil wars, have taken place, until a country, embracing the most valuable portion of the continent, with a geographical position as an avenue for universal commerce unexampled on the globe, has descended with surprising rapidity to decay and political insignificance. The *pronunciamientos* of ambitious leaders were generally followed by an appeal to arms; the president of to-day was the exile of to-morrow, and the minister of one week the fomentor of insurrection the next — affording a melancholy caricature upon the name of republicanism, where popular ignorance and unprincipled rulers are constant enemies to progress and the blessings of liberty.

I pass over the stormy period, from the first establishment of Mexican independence down to the origin of the late internecine war, and come at once to the history of the events which have produced the combined action of Spain, France, and England, in the present intervention.

Five years ago, the constitutional Congress convoked by the plan of Ayutla for the formation of a

constitution sat in the city of Mexico. On the 7th February, 1857, they concluded their labours, in the 37th year of Mexican independence. On the 12th they published the fundamental law to the world. On December 1st the President elect, D. Ignacio Comonfort, took the oaths of the constitution, which then became the law of the land. But the enemies of order bent their efforts to sow dissension among the members of Congress, and so far succeeded, that that body became so weak and disorganised as to bring the session to a close in sixteen days. They separated quietly on the 16th, when it was assumed they would no longer be allowed to sit. •

No one understood the meaning of the law; but next morning the publication of the plan of Tacubaya, and the marching into the city of General Zuloaga's brigade, with flags flying, cannon roaring, bells ringing, and an explosion of rockets, soon explained that the army had again attained power; and for the fourth time the federal system of government had to give place to force at the capital. The Congress disappeared, though some able representations were made of the danger that threatened the republic. Two days after, Comonfort, in a manifesto addressed to the nation, accepted the plan, and, according to its provision, called a Council of Govern-

ment, composed of representatives and subordinates from every state. They never did anything; as a new revolt of the army took place in the citadel, January 11th, 1858. Zuloaga was again the prime mover.

Instigated and backed by the French minister, Gabriac, Comonfort was forced to throw himself into the ranks of the Ultra-Liberals. He liberated Benito Juarez, President of the Supreme Court (then a prisoner in his hands), and to him resigned the office of President, and took that of Commander-in-Chief. The clergy supplied the army with money, and active hostilities soon commenced. The strongholds of the city were pretty equally divided among the belligerents. Several fruitless attempts at compromise were made; and at length, after ten days' firing, D. Luis G. Osillo, a man of great merit among the insurgents, took the Exacoidada by force. This decided the day. The Liberals fled everywhere; and late on the 20th of January, Comonfort returned to the palace, satisfied he was completely deserted, and the next morning left the city with a few devoted adherents. He embarked at Vera Cruz for New Orleans. The army under Osillo took possession of the palace on January 21st. On the 22nd, a junta, composed of one member from each state, was to elect a President. In the mean time, President Juarez had

gone to the interior, where considerable forces were on foot. Osillo marched at once against him. The Liberals, calling themselves the coalition, made but little resistance at points lying between the capital and Salamanca; but there they made a determined stand. They were beaten and completely dispersed. Juarez, who had set up a form of government and cabinet at Guanajuato, retired with the remnants of the Liberal party to Guadalajara, where he was able to maintain himself till March 15th, when Colonel Landa took him and his cabinet prisoners, and despatched them to Colima. There Juarez took passage in a small steamer to Panama, crossed the Isthmus of Darien, passed to Havanna and New Orleans, and finally settled at Vera Cruz on May 4th. From that day he held out successfully, and kept alive the principles of constitutional order in spite of every attempt to oust him. While, however, he was on his voyages, Zuloaga, on being elected President, was at once acknowledged by the whole diplomatic corps, to their everlasting disgrace.

Osillo immediately overrun the upper country as far as St. Luis, Zacatecas, Guadalajara, Colima, and Mazatlan. His sudden and mysterious death at St. Luis, June 18th, 1858, quenched the hopes of the brilliant career his talents and energy had made

almost certain ; for Osillo was a man of higher views, and was more independent and liberal in his political sagacity than suited the purpose of his clerical allies. His death brought his companion Miramon to power — a young and ambitious aspirant, whose unscrupulous character made him a most useful officer. He soon forced Zuloaga to resign in his favour. The constitutional forces still continued to act ; the first attempt was made October 15, 1858, by General Blanco, but he was completely defeated. In March following, General Degollado marched on Tacubaya, where he maintained himself for three weeks, but was ultimately routed on April 11, 1859, and Marquez followed up the victory by the atrocious assassinations ordered by Miramon.

An unsuccessful campaign followed against Vera Cruz ; but at the close of the year 1858, the Federals were completely defeated at Estancia de las Vacas, near Queretaro. The ports and the distant interior remained in the hands of the Federals, while the army and clergy held the cities and the capital. Early in December, Uraga gained an important victory over them under Vejas, at Loura Alta, and immediately lost no time in rousing the constitutional party, and organising a force at Guadalajara ; in assaulting which place he fell wounded, losing a foot, and was

taken prisoner. At this time, Miramon was besieging Vera Cruz: an attempt was made to support him from Havanna; Marin, with several vessels and munitions of war, actually anchored at Sacrificios; but the U. S. minister, who had recognised the constitutional government, captured his vessels, and Miramon was compelled to retire. The loss of Uraga was severely felt; but Ortega, who had raised the constitutional standard in Zacatecas, and gained several important advantages in that state, threatened the cities in the Bajio. Miramon hastened back to meet him, and on the 9th August, 1859, engaged him on the plains of Silas. Miramon escaped alone from the field. Ortega did not follow up his victory, but marched on Guadalajara, and took it in a month. He then marched on the capital by different routes. The first division, under Berriozabal, was surprised on its march by Miramon, and Degollado and Berriozabal were made prisoners; but on the 23rd of December, Miramon returned to Mexico, escorted only by two or three adjutants. The day previous, on the heights of S. Miguel Calpulalpan, this side of Arroyozarco, he had been completely routed, and left all his army, cannon, and munitions on the field.

On the 24th, the ministers of France and Spain

again interfered for the clergy champion; but Ortega would not listen to them, and on Christmas-day entered the city, though the grand entry of the army did not take place till January 1st. On the 11th, Juarez and his cabinet arrived, and the constitutional government was established. In the three years, three large deposits of money had been despoiled by the contending chiefs. The British consulate at St. Luis, January 1st, 1857, had been broken into and despoiled, and the English Minister's house in Mexico on December 17th, 1860, at Mexico. No one great public work had been projected, with the exception of two insignificant tramroads. At Mexico nothing has been done in that direction. Notwithstanding the vast extent of coast of the republic, no one steamer carries their flag. The high roads of the country are execrable and unsafe from robbers; they swarm at the gates of all the principal cities on the route from the capital to the coast. No canals, no public works, have been executed, and the extinction of the clerical party has not yet been effected, though their partisans have now degenerated into cruel and merciless highway thieves.

As a contrast of the two platforms I subjoin them together, that Englishmen may form a judgement upon the difference of the clerical, or Zuloaga's

principles, and the Liberal party now in power under the rule of Juarez.

SYNOPSIS OF THE LIBERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

1. The establishment of a constitutional federal government in the place of a military dictatorship.
2. Freedom and protection to slaves that enter the national territory.
3. Freedom of religion.
4. Freedom of the press.
5. The nationalisation of the \$200,000,000 of property held by the clergy, from which, and other sources, the church derives an annual income of not less than \$20,000,000.
6. The subordination of the army to the civil power, and the abolition of military and ecclesiastical *fueros*, or special tribunals.
7. A reduction of the tariff, the stoppage of the system of exceptional permits, and the entire abolition of *alcavala* or interior duties; also the abolition of passports.
8. The negotiation of commercial treaties of the fullest scope and liberal character, including reciprocity of trade on our frontiers.
9. The colonisation of Mexico by the full opening of every part of the country to immigration, and the encouragement of foreign enterprise in every branch of industry, particularly in mining and in works of internal improvement.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PLAN OF TACUBAYA PROCLAIMED BY
ZULOAGA.

1. The inviolability of all church property and church revenues, and the reestablishment of former exactions.
2. The reestablishment of the *fueros*, or special rights of the church and of the army. (Under these *fueros*, the military and clergy are responsible only to their own tribunals.)
3. The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion as the sole and exclusive religion of Mexico.
4. The censorship of the press.
5. The maintenance of a high tariff, the restoration of the oppressive system of *alcavala*, or interior duties, and the continuance of special monopolies.
6. The exclusive system with regard to foreign immigration, confining it solely to immigrants from Catholic countries.
7. The overthrow of the constitution of 1857, and the establishment of an irresponsible central dictatorship, subservient solely to the church.
8. If possible, the restoration of a monarchy in Mexico, or the establishment of a European protectorate.

I take the summary of events from a thoroughly well-informed source.

The constitutional government established by the supreme laws of the land, on the 16th September, 1857, commenced its life under the presidency of Comonfort, by the will of the people, under a constitution of their own desire ; but

the clergy, in January 1858, instigated a military rebellion, and drove out the constitutional authorities from the capital. Comonfort fled the country. In his absence, and in default, the Presidency devolved under the constitution upon the President of the Supreme Court of Justice. Article 128 declares: 'This constitution shall not lose its force and vigour, even if its observance be interrupted by rebellion. In case that, by means of any such event, a government shall have been established contrary to the principles which it sanctions, immediately upon the people recovering their liberty its observance shall be reestablished, and, according to the provisions of the laws which have been framed in virtue of it, shall be judged, as well those who have figured in the government emanating from the rebellion, as those who have cooperated with them.

The President of the Supreme Court of Justice was Sr Benito Juarez. Proceeding to the city of Guanajuato, he immediately reestablished the constitutional government, and, issuing his proclamation to that effect, began to raise forces to put down the rebellion. This proclamation reached Mexico before the decision had been taken by the diplomatic corps with regard to the recognition of the so-called government, set up by the leaders of the military *pronunciamiento*. The clergy, however, were not idle; and in the French minister, M. Gabriac, and the minister for Guatemala, the head of the diplomatic corps, they had able and willing allies. With the various influences these could bring to bear, and with that of the capitalists (who in Mexico have always sided with the Church, and against the constitutional rule), the recognition of Zuloaga, the President

installed by the clerical party, was obtained from the whole diplomatic corps; whereas the rebellion was sustained only by the single cities of Mexico and Puebla, and their immediately adjacent villages, and its only title to any recognition was a mere local force under a 'plan' proclaimed by a regiment of soldiers. Commencing on January 11th, 1851, the revolutionary party gained possession of the capital on the 21st, the morning of the flight of Comonfort. On the 22nd a junta of twenty-eight, named and convened by himself, declared Zuloaga the commander of the garrison, and nominal leader of the Tacubaya plan, President of the Republic; and before the 30th his government was recognised by all the representatives of foreign powers resident in the capital,—viz., Don Felipe Neri del Barrio, Guatemala, chief of the diplomatic corps; M. Gabriac, France, and charged with the affairs of Spain; John Forsyth, United States; Don Francisco Pastor, Ecuador; John Lettsom, *chargé d'affaires*, England; and M. Clementi, Papal nuncio (he, of course, was the principal agent of the Church). Forsyth wanted to treat for a purchase of territory, and became the dupe of the rest; and the Englishman was controlled by the capitalists, who had played the game of monopoly so long, they thought it could be safely played for ever. Time has proved they were mistaken.

Such were the influences which procured this hasty and ill-judged recognition by the foreign diplomatic corps of the so-called government of Zuloaga, which has been the means of leading people abroad to suppose that, having been recognised and approved by these official representatives on the spot, it was both a government of fact and of right, notwith-

standing the protest or proclamation of the President Juarez, upon whom the authority had legitimately devolved, under the constitution. The recognition of the representatives of foreign powers was thus given to a so-called government, instituted against the will of the people, and based on the destruction of the constitution of the country ; and they took on themselves to say that the leaders of a military rebellion, gaining the capital, should constitute the lawful government of the Republic. Without this recognition, the Zuloaga rebellion would have been put down in three months ; with it, it was able to keep the country in a state of civil war for three years. On February 9th, 1858, Juarez issued a decree, declaring all the acts of Zuloaga's government null, and of no effect. The recognition, however, by the diplomatic corps, gave that government a certain character of legitimacy and moral prestige, which, with the money of the clergy, enabled it to make head against such powers as still remained faithful to the constitutional government, or which, with the limited means at its command, it could raise. The consequence has been the struggle which, with varying results from time to time, has only been lately terminated by the triumph of the Liberal forces, and the reestablishment of the constitutional government in the capital. The struggle has been sustained by the countenance and recognition of foreign powers, and the money and arms of the Church, against the people, without means and without an army, but rising spontaneously everywhere. The reverse at first experienced caused Juarez to remove the seat of government, first to Guadalajara, and then to Vera Cruz, where it was esta-

blished May 1858. In that month a new English minister, Mr. Otway, passed through that place, but without treating in any manner with the constituted government, he proceeded to the capital, and presented his credentials to Zuloaga, whose government he acknowledged. In July 1858, the United States minister, Forsyth, was ordered to terminate all relations with the clerical government, and withdraw the 'legation' from the capital, and left in September. This was the first act of any government discountenancing the clerico-military revolution. In November 1858, Juarez reissued his decree of February 7th, declaring null and void the acts of Zuloaga's government, and on the 30th January Zuloaga was set aside by the same revolutionary means by which he had been raised, and the Presidency was assumed by Miramon. Again the action of the diplomatic corps was invoked, and proffered even more hastily than before, being on the same day that Miramon assumed power. The British minister, Otway, joined (though but a few weeks before he had demanded Miramon's dismissal from the army, on account of repeated outrages to British subjects) April 6th, 1859.

The constitutional government at Vera Cruz was recognised by the United States minister, M'Lane, as the legitimate and *de facto* government of the Republic. All this time the entire sea-coast, with a great portion of the interior, had remained faithful to the constitution. The clerical Government could only hold the cities by military force, and as long as they occupied them, it was characterised by every act which violated international and moral obligation; its only support was the money of the Church, and the

recognition of the diplomatic corps. This, however, was gradually withdrawn; for, yielding at last to the universal outcry of the British residents against Otway's shameless neglect of the interests of his countrymen, the English Government recalled him, and on September he was superseded by Mr. Mathew, the *chargé d'affaires*.

April 1860 a new representative appeared in Vera Cruz in the person of Baron Wagner, minister of Prussia, who after some informal conferences with the constitutional authorities proceeded to Mexico. There Gabriac's proved too powerful an interest to resist; the moral weight of Protestant Prussia was thrown into the scale of the clergy. He was recalled, and on May 1860 left the legation in charge of its secretary. Immediately Zuloaga ordered Miramon to restore to him the Presidency which had been intrusted to him only temporarily and by substitution. Miramon was too strong for him, and carried him a captive in a forced campaign into the interior. But in his absence, on May 11th, 1860, a document was drawn up by the diplomatic corps, and signed by all, except the Papal nuncio and the minister of Guatemala, declaring there was no government existing in the capital. Miramon returned in August, defeated by the Liberals; yet he called a 'junta,' who elected him President, and as such he was recognised by Don J. Francisco Pacheco, Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Spain. In September, 1859, Spain had negotiated a treaty with the Miramon government through its agent, Admonte, at Paris.* This conferred advantages and

* See Appendix.

recognised claims before refuted by every government in Mexico, and to a very large amount.

The constitutional government protested against this Mon-Almonte treaty as unjust in its essence, foreign to the usage of nations in the principles it established, illegal in the manner in which it was negotiated, and contrary to the rights of the country. The maintenance of this treaty explains the recognition of M. Pacheco, after a majority of the foreign representatives, resident in Mexico, had united in a declaration that there was no government existing there. In December 1860, Mr. Mathew, the English *chargé d'affaires*, retired to Jalapa, from orders received from his government. The Prussian minister also withdrew with him. In November, M. Saligny, the new French minister, arrived, without in any way treating with the constitutional authorities at Vera Cruz, proceeded to Jalapa, and endeavoured to procure a combination of the diplomatic corps to bring about a compromise, but utterly failed; and he pressed on to the capital, prepared to recognise Miramon as President of the Republic—but it was too late.

Without moral prestige, the money of the clergy almost gone, and the Liberals fast gaining on the capital, one only resource was left Miramon. This was the British bondholders' money, stored in the British legation, under the minister's seal and the imaginary protection of the British flag. Miramon did not hesitate. On November 17th he broke the seals in open day, and carried off the money by armed force. It was but a short respite, for, emboldened by a slight victory, he ventured out of his

stronghold to meet the Liberal army, was overwhelmed, and utterly defeated. The French and Spanish ministers tried to make terms for him, but failed; so, seizing all that remained in the treasury of the English bondholders' money, he fled for ever from Mexico.

On December 25th, the constitutional forces occupied unmolested the capital and the Government; and on January 11th, 1861, the constitutional and representative government of Juarez was peaceably and unanimously installed in the palace, whence three years before it had been driven by a rebellion so ignominiously terminated.—*New York Tribune*, March 19th, 1861.

The following is the sum I paid the post office for horses from post to post on the line of the mail couriers. I paid just as much again at each relay, besides a present to the horse-keeper who took back the horses.

			Leagues	Dollars
Vera Cruz	to	Tejeria .	. 4	1.50
Tejeria	„	Soledad .	. 5	2
Soledad	„	Camaron .	. 5	2.25
Camaron	„	Tres Encinos	. 5	2.25
Tres Encinos	„	Cordova .	. 7	2.25
Cordova	„	Orizaba .	. 6	2.25
Orizaba	„	Acolzingo .	. 7	2.25
Acolzingo	„	Cañada .	. 5	2.25
Cañada	„	San Augustin	. 5	2.25
San Augustin	„	Quecholac .	. 4	1.50

Quecholac	„	Acatzingo .	. 7	2·25
Acatzingo	„	San Gregorio .	. 5	2·25
San Gregorio	„	Puebla .	. 8	2·25
Puebla	„	San Martin .	. 6	2·25
San Martin	„	Rio Frio .	. 7	2·25
Rio Frio	„	Ayotla .	. 5	2·25
Ayotla	„	Mexico .	. 6	2·25
				<hr/>
				97 36·50

The system of couriers dates back to the time of the Spaniards. The couriers, whether private or government, pass through the country with perfect immunity from impressment or any other impediment. Their calling is almost sacred, and whoever interferes with them is regarded as an offender against the public weal. Like the *arrieros*, they are invariably honest: no record exists of a courier having robbed his employer or surrendered the letters intrusted to his charge, unless waylaid and intercepted by an enemy; and even at such times they have dexterous methods, known only to themselves, of concealing their despatches.

CHAPTER II.

FROM VERA CRUZ TO MEXICO.*

THE first impression of Vera Cruz is favourable. The approach is picturesque, and the streets are wide and clean; but the total absence of life, the frequent gaps of ruined and uninhabited houses, and the squalid appearance of the working-classes, fix on the mind an indelible feeling of melancholy. Yet this is in fact the only port which the re-

* *Health.*—The *vomito*, or yellow fever, is one of the great drawbacks to the entry of foreign troops here; but it does not prevail beyond ten or twelve leagues from the coast, and a very moderate elevation resists its progress. Cases have been known as high up as Jalapa, but all persons who caught it on the coast, and were removed there, generally die; but there is no known instance of its being propagated from any of such cases, or its having been spontaneously generated there. Vera Cruz is, of course, subject to its fiercest visitation, but only at particular times of the year. As soon as the traveller reaches Plain del Rio, on the route up, he is safe; and from thence to Mexico the climate is luxurious, and to the last degree exhilarating and salubrious. The country abounds in every kind of food and transport, and the roads, though execrable for wheeled carriages, are wide and easy for the march of troops; the population is peaceable and quiet.

public of Mexico possesses. In the roadsteads, which are protected by the island fort of San Juan de Ulloa, and defended from the south by a long ridge of rocks, there was not a single vessel at anchor, but the men-of-war of England and France; while none but small coasters were ranged along its massive and commodious quay. To right and left of the town extend miles on miles of sandy plain, covered in parts with herds of cattle, the value of which may be estimated by their being shot for their skins; yet they seemed well-grown and serviceable beasts, and of excellent make and breed.

The road for twelve miles into the interior, as far as Tejeria is laid on a tramway, and is efficiently and scientifically constructed over a light sand, which seems capable of being converted into valuable soil by cultivation. From hence a long and rugged series of mere stony tracks leads the traveller over the plain, diversified with heathy flats and sandy hollows, but tolerably wooded past the stations of Soledad, Camaron, and Tres Encinos. Here we found a detachment of cannoniers with their pieces, retiring from Vera Cruz, which the Mexican Government wisely determined to leave unfortified on the approach of the allied intervention. The men were

light, active, middle-sized soldiers,* in fair campaigning order, well clothed, and animated by the best possible spirit. They would form excellent material in good hands. Their pieces, both field and small arms, were in good order, clean, and of fair quality. Like all of the Mexican lower orders I met, they were docile and polite when not roused; and were it not for their invariable habit of magniloquence, one would imagine they were as good as they look.

But, alas! that terrible weakness prevails in all classes of the country. Like the Irishman's history, their accounts of everything would be excellent; were it not for the facts; and, like him, their only answer to a complaint is, 'So much the worse for the facts' that they do not correspond. In general they are very swarthy; most of them burnt by exposure; both sexes of a deep copper colour, but clean built, active, and often broad-shouldered and deep-chested

* *Soldiers*.—The men were mostly stout fellows, dressed in a simple uniform of white drilling, with red collars and stripes down the legs of the trousers. All were barefooted, except a leathern sole, strapped on to the naked foot with thongs. Some were sleeping on the rough wooden benches of the wide vestibule; others were gambling, drinking, or buying a sort of confectionery of sugar and cocoa-nut from an old woman, who carried it about in a basket on her head.

men — their fashion of carrying heavy weights, strapped from their backs across the forehead, keeping the body firm and upright. The old men I met were seldom infirm or paralysed, but seemed to endure labour with comparative ease. The women are not generally well-looking, the face being too flat, and from their wearing few clothes, the figure falling abroad, as they say in the west of England; but their fine hair and eyes, and the smallness of their hands and feet, in a great measure redeem the defect of a rather unmeaning face. The ordinary dress of a man is a wide-brimmed hat of stiff felt or straw, fastened under the chin with ribbons, an embroidered shirt-front, and a jacket of brown leather, more or less ornamented according to the pecuniary condition of the wearer; a belt containing his purse confines his waist, below which he wears brown leather trowsers, buttoned all the way down ornamentally on the outer seam, so that in walking they are thrown open to let out the full calzoncillos or linen drawers, and are confined by the buttons in riding quite as tight as by gaiters. The Mexican rides very forward, on a demipique saddle, with an abomination in front in the shape of a highly-ornamented metal pommel, the use of which is to fasten the lasso to; when the noose is tightened to

throw a man or beast to the ground, the horse is taught to swerve and hold himself firm against the pull. They ride well, and the horses, which are trained from their earliest years to easy paces, are fast and enduring ; their best pace is the passo, which is a very rapid run, all four legs following very closely together, at a pace so easy as not to shake the rider's seat in the smallest degree, while they are taught to stop back or turn at the slightest motion of the bit. They never run above fifteen hands, but are well-shaped and strong, having almost invariably good heads and legs. Mules are used for draught and carriage, as many as ten or even twelve being harnessed four-abreast to a diligence, or the carro, a long narrow wagon used for conveying goods over the heavy roads. The dress of the women consists of a loose chemise and wide petticoat, with a hat of straw or felt ; but the features, as well as the bust, are concealed in walking by a shawl of grey plaid, which is thrown over the left shoulder and held up to the mouth. The better classes seldom wear anything on the head, though in the retraits and paseos I saw no lack of hat and feather and crinoline beauties, whose gaiety and amplitude rivalled even Paris or London. We continued our route occasionally through herds of cattle: provisions in the shape of dried

beef, chichi, aguardiente, chickens, eggs, tortillas, sal-chichas, rice, and beans, may be found at every station on the road, together with excellent chocolate and coffee. We began the ascent of the shoulder of the mountain Orizaba. It was just daylight when I mounted the pass, which led into masses of deep forests, with a wide and foaming river roaring in the ravine below. I reined in my horse to see the cloudless sun burst out of the sea over the sixty miles of plain I had traversed the day before. The most brilliant foliage surrounded me, principally acacias; while large convolvuli, the size of a dinner-plate, hung in graceful festoons from every branch.* The wide plain smoked blood-red in the morning mist; while above my head a pure clear sky shed a delicious freshness on every sense. The only lack I felt was that exquisite morning hymn sent up by the forest birds in merrie England; for here there were none but most discordant

* In the passes of Orizaba, I knew the jalap tree by a disagreeable but peculiar scent, which I found proceeded from the leaves of the well-known plant. The stem climbs to a great height, of a brownish colour, round and smooth; its leaves are on long footstalks, shaping to a peak; the flower is a convolvulus, of a crimson or light-red colour, with a long tube and fine stamina; it has a tuberous, fleshy root, with pear-shaped tubers, in size from a walnut to an orange, externally brown, internally white, with numerous long fibres. It grows on the eastern declivity of the Andes of Mexico, up to an elevation of 6,000 feet, where the weather is rainy and subject to frost and winter.



ORIZAVA.

jays. Along these lofty passes the road wound most picturesquely, but sorely to the discomfort of men and horses. It was clogged with immense stones, and not unfrequently knee-deep in soft mud. How any wheeled vehicles can possibly stand the wear and tear of such bumping and thumping is quite marvellous;—but here comes the diligence at a pace which threatens to tear the clumsy wheels to pieces, as it rolls, jumps, and bumps over the irregularities of the ground. The body is fitted with three seats, each holding three persons; the middle seats being furnished with a broad leather band for their backs. The sides are closed with leather curtains, and the doors have sashes to the windows, so that there is

* The *campanero* is often heard in these woods; the traveller is startled with the distant toll of a bell, resembling the muffled clang of some deep-mouthed convent bell. The *campanero* tolls about an hour towards evening, and, as he affects the shadiest depths of the forests, is seldom seen. They told me he was an unassuming fellow, with few of the gaudy trappings of his feathered companions, but has a remarkable crest on his head.

The Mexican *macaw* has the most splendid colours, and beautifully distributed. The head, breast, and back are of a deep glossy red; the wings yellow, blue, and green; the tail is composed of eleven blue quills, six of which are stout and short, the remaining five tapering, but broad, and when full grown fourteen inches in length. They keep up an incessant screaming, scrambling about, hanging by their claws, or swinging by their hooked beaks, so that the tree seems hung with gaudy banners, as on a gala day. I heard of the superb blue macaw, but it is a very rare bird.

abundance of air and light. Four seats are on the top, while the cocher and his assistant occupy the box, having enough to do to work the team. Two stout mules occupy the shafts; then four abreast in splinter bars; and in front of all a pair, or sometimes three more; bells are hung on their necks, and the harness is generally good; so that, though decidedly a strong exercise, highly conducive to promote digestion, the merry jingling and the roomy, well-stuffed leather cushions, rendered the travelling not uncomfortable. As we neared Cordova, troops of mules, heavily laden with packs of cotton, wool, sugar, &c., straggled on; of course perversely climbing the sides of the road to crop herbage, and fully occupying the attention of the arrieros, who, some on horseback and some on foot, whooped and cracked their long whips to urge forward their wayward conveyance. We were now some thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the air was fresh and balmy. Cattle were feeding in the maize fields, and among the dried stalks of Indian corn, while a delicious verdure clothed the slopes of the glades; and even the wide open spaces in front of the village cottages, almost reminding one of the English commons, so short and firm was the turf. Cordova, a town of 7,000 inhabitants, is most delightfully situated on

the slopes of a hill, which exactly faces the snow peaks of Orizaba, 17,800 feet high. The cone rises easily and gracefully from vast shoulders, fringed with pine forest to the very verge of the snow-line. It is perhaps not so imposing as its sister Popocatepetl; but its immense size, and the dark rugged range of cliffs that tower up on all sides to the pure white crown, fill the spectator's mind with pictures of beauty and power. The square of Cordova is as large as Lincoln's Inn Fields, with a wide colonnade running round three sides, the fourth being occupied by a fine old cathedral in the usual barbarous Spanish style of architecture—an incongruous collection of towers and cupolas, without simplicity or grandeur, except from mere size. It was here that Captain Aldham, R.N., lingered for months, under the hospitable care of M. Legrand, when brought in after the murder^{as} attack on the diligence by some political ruffians, on the Orizaba road, under command of Cobos,* one of the clergy chiefs, who was most deservedly shot on September 7, at Calpulalpam. The captain, fortunately, as well as the British consul's family, escaped with life, though at the expense of shattered health and a shortened limb; but a poor

* His brother is now in the French camp with his fellow-ruffian Marquez.

young French lady, shot at the same time, died in great agony. Of course nothing has been done to render the road more secure. From Cordova to Orizaba the road winds and dips among the elevated ranges of the mountain, and, being diversified with running streams and wide open valleys, fertile to a very high degree, is about the pleasantest portion of the whole route from the sea to the capital. The last two miles lie over a vast common, some half-league square, of as perfect grass land as could be found in any country, and as flat as a bowling green, though surrounded by richly-wooded heights of a considerable elevation. Not a beast — horse, cow, sheep, or even donkey — grazed on its pleasant verdure, — not even a goose.

The first building that strikes you on entering a street at least a mile long and 100 feet wide, is a church without any roof, and the ~~altar~~ster, once gaudily painted, hanging in long stripes from the walls; yet still decorated in the porch with faded flower-wreaths and several wax representations of our Saviour on the cross, and the Madonna and Child, while an old sacristan screamed for alms to the very indifferent passers-by.

Orizaba contains 30,000 inhabitants, and is one of the most important district centres. There seemed

to be no trade; I did not see any single man at work the whole time I was in the town; and certainly really one-third of the houses were either uninhabited or in a rapid state of decay. Yet it is hardly possible to conceive a more healthy, a more delicious, or a more advantageous position for a large departmental city. Situated at 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, surrounded by fertile valleys and magnificent forests, on the high road from the capital to the principal seaport of the republic, it seems to contain every qualification for the man of business or leisure to desire in a place of residence.* I left it with regret.

A fine gallop of twenty-four miles took me over an undulating valley with picturesque wooded heights of great elevation, hemming it in to about two miles width as far as Acolzulco. The whole road was thronged with traffic of every kind, flocks of sheep, herds of goats, donkeys laden with foully smelling fish, or salt meat, mule-droves of sugar carros going down to the coast, arrieros with every kind of cargo, from barrels slung across horse and mule to fruit-baskets, passed us in long and endless succession.

At length we commenced the ascent of the pass which leads to the higher plateau by a series of zig-zags, under a blazing sky. Half-way up a very pretty

mountain-fall discharged its waters literally on to the road; as the bridge-parapet, under which its clear stream foamed down into the valley, was not high enough to prevent its most refreshing spray from dashing over my face as I sat on horseback. The view from the top, though circumscribed, was very lovely from the delightful verdure of every part of the landscape.

We descended into another valley, and again ascended by another series of zigzags to the heights above Cañada. Here we were visited by a severe thunder-storm. The forked lightning played above the surrounding peaks, and the thunder rolled along the pine forests, dying away in the distance—the sublimest artillery. The whole road was perfectly solitary; I did not see a soul or a house till I reached the miserable sandy village, where I sat in the post-house on a rough deal bench, in a room where there was an iron bedstead and a small deal table on the stone floor—nothing else whatever. Yet the owner, the master of the correo, was a polite and educated man, to an extraordinary degree. He handed me a handful of excellent cigars. I sent for some aguardiente; and while I dried myself we conversed on a variety of subjects, with an audience of about twenty individuals, who crowded round the

door-way; but neither intruded themselves nor their conversation upon us. He provided me and the postillion with two excellent horses, which carried us over the sandy plain to San Augustin de Palma, a distance of five leagues, in a couple of hours, with great ease and comfort. The bells of a yast number of towers were ringing as I entered the town, which seemed well built and populous, though not very large.

The court-yard of the post-house was most tastily laid out on the side of the house, with a very pretty flower-garden, and a broad verandah, on the stone seat of which I sat with my back leaning against the wall, smoking a comfortable cigar, until my hospitable host announced my dinner. Two buxom ladies waited, while the postmaster faced me, attending personally to all my wants. He served me some excellent meat soup, with toast, an omelette, a cutlet, with potatoes, and a mould of sweet jelly, for which I paid three shillings (including a cup of delicious coffee), and we parted the best of friends.

Here they provided me with a mule. (The mule, or female, is much more valuable than the male, or macho. She is taught an easy amble, peculiar to South America, and when broken in is called an andedore. A good mule costs thirty dollars, but I

saw some less than that price. Horses are small, but very strong and enduring, and come of a good stock; but for long distances mules are preferred.) On a mula I rode from hence to the next stage, Quecholac, two and a half leagues, which was perhaps fortunate, as night fell, and we scrambled most of the eight miles in pitch dark, over some queer places, as it seemed. About half-way, four men met us in a gallop. I took no part in the conversation that ensued; but it was evident each mistook the other for robbers. They were three Spaniards and a courier, travelling post to catch the return steamer to Hayanna.

At Quecholac I was most hospitably received by the family of the postmaster, Jose Augustin Velez, whose brothers, Joachim and Christoval, joined me in a cup of superb chocolate* and a cigar, and we all slept on the floor in the large room, which for height and size was almost a hall. The children, too, came to look at my watch, and a many-bladed and wondrous

* There is nothing more palatable, and at the same time nourishing, than a cup of chocolate, which is procurable at almost every roadside venda. It is ground in a mortar from the cocoa till it becomes an oily paste; a little vanilla is added, with sugar, and it is then made into small cakes, each of which makes two cups when dissolved in boiling water and cream, and is served brimming with a fragrant froth, and light sweet cakes are added. A Mexican always washes his mouth out afterwards with cold water.

knife of Mappin's best which I had ; they brought me water to wash my feet, and attended to my every want with the most courteous and flattering care ; nor when I left in the morning would they accept a farthing of recompense, but all embraced me as a friend.

The sandy road, bordered with aloe and cactus, and drenched with yesterday's rain, was dreary to the last degree ; beyond a few donkeys and labourers going to work in the fields I did not see a soul. The sun had hardly risen, and it was bitter cold. I was glad, therefore, to get into Acatzingo to breakfast about eight. Here I found Señor Couttolene, with four other gentlemen and a large troop of lancers, escorting about 1,000 wagons to Vera Cruz for the steamer. Anything more courteous or attentive than M. Couttolene's politeness cannot be imagined. Not only did he and his companions give me every possible advice and information as to my route, but even sent six lancers with me, as he assured me the entrance to Puebla was beset with dangers. I had by this time become so thoroughly tired of hearing the accounts of the ill-treatment I was to expect, that I hardly believed him ; but I soon had positive experience ; for the coming diligence brought my portmanteau smashed to pieces,

with every single thing taken out but my dirty linen, which was saturated with the contents of a bottle of carbonate of soda and another of sulphate of quinine — two handy medicines my long experience of travel had taught me never to be without in a warm climate: indeed, these and a little opium are as much as, in ordinary circumstances, a man need require.

The passengers told me amusing stories of the satisfaction of the robbers, who stopped them close to the barrier entering Puebla, when they overhauled my stock. Two hundred splendid Havanna cigars, a last present from my friend Lorenzo de Peon, two Bond Street coats and an overcoat, my dandy trousers, my white and other waistcoats, merino drawers, shirts, &c. &c., were held up to, and handed round with intense gratification, from one to another of the ruffians. As they did not rob the carpet-bags of four not very spicey Mexicans in the coach, I only hope my spoils may be the cause. However, unconscious of my coming misfortunes, I gaily galloped on with my gallant lancers, on a brilliant sunshiny morning, through San Gregorio and Amazoc to Puebla.

Happy, well-behaved, and courteous men they were; full of questions as to the intervention and

the recent outrage on the English flag in the piratical assault on the 'Trent,' and the seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason; the war of American secession; the strength and position of the French emperor; and, above all, the deep-seated hatred of Spain and everything Spanish were their principal topics; and very well they expressed themselves. We passed an old aboriginal coach with six mules and four armed servants, containing a family inside a framework covered with white canvas; the springs, wheels, &c., seemed very good, but the whole of the carriage was flapping in the air, which gave it a most absurd appearance. As we neared Puebla, we met a long succession of carts, mules, donkeys; gentlemen and servants armed to the teeth; women trudging with baskets and earthen pots on their heads; beggars, and a good many well-mounted but seedy and truculent-looking gentlemen, who saluted me with *adios Señor*; but would, I have no doubt, have given me a very different salutation, had it not been for M. Couttolene's lancers.

Puebla was founded at an early date by the Spaniards. The general arrangement of the city is exceedingly good, and its position is charming. Its population is estimated at 70,000. The houses are built in the massive and imposing style which cha-

racterises all the works of the grand old Spaniards in their days of power and wealth.

The city is full of churches, and their bells clang from tower and steeple from morning to night — nor is their devotion confined to the buildings. The people take off their hats whenever they meet bishop, padre, friar, or jesuit; whenever they pass an image in paint, plaster, or wax; and also, whenever the bells indicate that some performance is going on inside any one of the churches they happen to be passing. I calculated that on an ordinary day a Pueblano would take off his hat once every two minutes, or if he were in the streets eight hours he would uncover 240 times!

Puebla, the second city of the Republic, is one of the most picturesque places I ever saw. Indeed, if it had the advantage of water, instead of the dry ditch which when I saw it did duty for a river, hardly affording water enough for the washerwomen, who, to the number of some hundreds, were barbarously and savagely banging and thumping shirts and stockings in the scanty stream, it would rival most cities of noted beauty of position. One is struck by the crowd of churches and convents, whose towers greatly heighten the effect. The cathedral is massive and imposing, occupying one whole side of the plaza, on

an elevated plot of ground. The interior is lofty, and filled with the most beautiful specimens of marbles from the neighbourhood. Its other riches have been seized by the government. Its splendid silver chandelier, so large that four men got inside to clean it; the altar and lamps of silver, the pictures and jewels, are all gone, and the effect is made up by gilding and velvet, in a manner which is not very effective. The choir and screen block up the whole space; and the side chapels, filled from floor to roof with bad paintings of sometimes very disgusting subjects, and enclosed by gilt rails, give one but a confused idea of the magnificent extent of the building, which is 500 feet deep and about 200 in width at the principal entrance. The view from the top over the rich plains, covered with well-tilled fields and pretty haciendas, well-wooded, and evidencing both riches and care, to the snow range on the south and west, is most exquisite.

Nothing can be finer than the spring of Popocatepetl, from the plain to its snow-crowned cone near 18,000 feet high, while to the north the elegant form of Malinche, which rises gently with forest ravines and dark deep glens to most picturesque-shaped castled crags at its lofty summit; and to the east the roseate tints of far off Orizaba in the setting sun

form the most perfectly satisfactory picture to the artist and the traveller, did he not know that the man who travels one hundred yards outside the walls is sure to lose horse, money, clothes, and even life itself, unless escorted or under some protection. While I remained there, a young man was lassoed in the Paseo and detained for ransom,—his father offering \$300, and the robbers demanding \$3,000; nor was the negotiation at all in a forward state when I left. The streets are clean, straight, and wide, and the trade brisk and good, as far as I saw; but the barricades in every one of them told a very sad story of rapine and revolution. They were not removed, they told me, because the bands of guerilleros would sweep through the town otherwise, carrying all before them; however, every one seemed happy and contented. In the evening a fine band played in the retraits or plaza, which was some eight hundred yards square, paved with stone, and had a balustrade round the four sides and a fountain in the centre; while the rank, fashion, and beauty of the city either gently promenaded, or reclined on the stone seats of the balustrade till ten, under a cloudless sky and a clear, calm atmosphere. The three other sides were occupied by portales or piazzas of shops.

I had the good fortune to see the interior of many

Mexican houses, where I played whist, danced,* and heard excellent music, and can testify to the grace and beauty of the female population. Most of them spoke French, though not fluently or confidently; while their exquisite shaped heads, hands, and feet, fully compensated for a bad complexion, which, moreover, magnificent hair, eyes, and teeth, soon made one forget.

Waltzing.—It is rare to find an indifferent waltzer among the ladies of Mexico. They are generally easy and lithe in their motions, sailing through the dance with a rather stately, though animated, mien, but without the slightest approach to a hop.

Pretty hands and arms are too common to be regarded as particular marks of elegance; but I often observed they took extra pains to display their little advantages. Morenas, with raven hair, decidedly prevail as to numbers with the delicate paleness usually associated with Spanish tropical beauty; and such complexions, aided by clear white foreheads, large black or hazel eyes, clear coral lips, and fine teeth, are no inconsiderable attractions, when joined, as they are frequently, to a vivacious and joyous disposition, to which they generally unite the qualities of gentleness, good humour, and sincerity,—pleasing traits in any country. The hair is oftener worn plaited, and put up behind the head, than any other way; ringlets are seldom seen. At parties, or balls, the dress is usually white, and very thin; and but little jewellery is worn in the street. The mantilla, or crape shawl, is used; but the parasol has in a great measure superseded the fan. In the general lack of education, women are taught but little; and when a young lady can play the guitar and piano, waltz, and appear *à la mode* in society, she is served up whole at the matrimonial altar as quickly as possible, and her matronly duties begin. And yet, with few or none of the advantages offered in more enlightened countries, Mexican women never fail to interest a stranger by the peculiar gentleness and dignity of their demeanour, as well as their latent talents and susceptibility of cultivation.

The principal amusement of the gentlemen is American bowls, the alleys for which are better than any I have seen in London, and, as they said, now all riding outside the town is dangerous, affords them capital exercise.* Every house, too, had one or more magnificent Cuban blood-hounds — not over well secured, for the roofs being all flat, there is but little difficulty in making your way over great part of the city into any house — a precaution which is extensively made use of, especially as justice is not only perfectly blind, but venal, to the last degree. One man who lived opposite me had his house entered while I was there and all his money taken. In the morning he made a full deposition before the police office; three days after the magistrate called, and, as no money was offered, said it was too late then to institute

Cricket. — Just out of the Paseo, in a field of fifty acres, lies a well-rolled and watered cricket-ground, belonging to a club, formed mostly of British, of course, but having three or four Mexican gentlemen and two Indians playing in matches. Twice I formed one of two elevens, who made excellent play. The air was delightfully cool, though sunny, and the view round us exquisite. A cool and roomy tent, pitched in the best style, received our weary limbs; and we had a most charming meal, the tea being the most delicious I think I ever tasted. To MM. Mello, Tregeiros, and Bovis, as well as the excellent British Consul, Glennie, are our countrymen indebted for this most useful and exhilarating exercise. Nor should the long-stop, Mr. Davidson, be forgotten, not only for his excellence in the field, but his care and courtesy to the guests.

proceedings. But, sir, said the sufferer, I lost not an hour in apprising the magistracy of the burglary. Very true, answered coolly the official; but I am very busy just now with political matters, and I could not attend to it; and there the matter dropped. No one thinks of moving after dark without pistols, and generally two or three together. In our courtyard were six valuable horses belonging to Mexicans, removed to the protection of the British flag to save them from forced contribution; and even there they were not safe.

By daybreak I started with seven and a half dollars in my pocket, a plaid wrapped round my loins, and a not very good coat. No sooner had I cleared the walls than fifty men barred my passage, and I was requested to dismount, and my money demanded peremptorily, but courteously. I instantly poured my money into the palm that did not hold a pistol, and explained that my clothes had all been taken some days before. The gentlemen then felt me all over; but as I had left my watch in Puebla I had nothing but my meerschaum and tobacco-pouch, which they politely returned me on my telling them it was an old friend of many years' travel, and having twice felt my plaid, which they rejected as being too thin, as it was compared with the Mexican serape.

Of course they could not see its length and breadth ; so they very politely ordered me to remount. I had taken the precaution to hide my papers in the corn-bag strapped behind the courier's saddle.

I continued my route rejoicing, over a very fair road through highly cultivated fields, where I frequently saw as many as ten or twelve ploughs at work under the eye of the master, who, on horseback, personally superintended the operation. Three hours brought me to San Martin, which was filled by a regiment of very serviceable light dragoons, on their way to the coast — a circumstance which I afterwards heard procured me the escape of a repetition of my Puebla episode, as the gentlemen of this town enjoy a most evil reputation. Seven leagues of rising ground through splendid pine-woods, with wide open glades covered with luxuriant verdure, but not a single animal to crop the short sweet grass, brought me to Rio Frio, another quarter of villanous repute ; but the whole way was lined with straggling bodies of horse, foot, and artillery passing down, so that the robbers, luckily for me, had made themselves scarce. I passed twenty cannon, with tumbrils and all complete, in the most creditable order ; the men, too, were excellent in make and dress, as far as a non-military man could judge ; but I could not say much

for the officers—they seemed one half to be too fat, and the other half too withered and lean: perhaps I could not distinguish the lieutenants and ensigns from the men; but I saw some eight hundred troops, and certainly forty who were undoubtedly officers, and who came under the one or the other category.

At Rio Frio I had to pawn my gold sleeve-links, which had fortunately escaped the attentions of my Puebla friends, in order to procure me a dinner; and a very good one I had. Soup bouilli, and the meat, with cabbage, a roast leg of lamb, cutlets, a fricandeau of veal, and some delicious stewed apples, were served to appease my starving appetite. The cloth, knives, and glasses were clean, and changed every dish, so that I fared sumptuously on my trinkets. I ought to add they were duly returned to me by the driver of the diligence three days afterwards in exchange for one dollar.

A hot descent in a broiling afternoon sun brought us into the valley of Mexico, the aspect of which in the evening glow was superb, the lakes shining like molten gold, and the snow range (the shoulder of which I had passed) throwing back the bright rays to the beautifully piled mountains which lie beyond the city, now bathed in the soft light of the declin-

ing sun. We reached Ayutla but just in time to insure gaining the city by daylight. There is nothing for the last twenty-five miles to call for remark. A rich sandy soil, very well cultivated, the road bordered by cactus, maize fields, and, where running along the lake, over a causeway, with myriads of ducks and starlings, sometimes on both sides, are the only pictures of the passage. But the distant hills on all sides of the wide-spread valley are most picturesque and beautiful.

We reached the Hotel Iturbide in perfect safety about seven; and one of the best restaurants that ever tempted a hungry connoisseur received my welcome attentions. This hotel was formerly the palace of the Emperor, whose name it bears. His son was living in it while I was there; but he seemed much more like an American than a Mexican in dress, manners, and conversation. It is conducted on the same principle as the Louvre at Paris, except that there is no *table d'hôte*. You pay by the day, week, or month. Everything is clean and good, and, what is marvelous, reasonable. I paid \$30 a month for a room twenty feet square, with a window opening down to the ground, and a wide balcony overlooking the bowling-alley, and well shaded by trees. It was

fully and even handsomely furnished with every luxury that the best hotel in Paris could afford me. As might be expected from such excellent accommodation, it was crammed the whole time I spent in Mexico.

CHAPTER III.

MEXICO

MEXICO is 7,800 feet above the level of the sea. The approach is very pleasing; for the last six miles the long line of towers, domes, and spires, rises up white

The city of Mexico is situated in latitude $19^{\circ} 25' 45''$ N., and longitude $103^{\circ} 45' 53''$ W. from Greenwich. The mean temperature of the city is 17° (R) 21° (Cent.). The barometer varies between 23 and 23.2 English inches. The magnetic needle declines $8^{\circ} 30' 12''$ to the east. The prevailing winds are north-east and north.

In the 'Letter of Cortez to Charles V.' it is described:—

'The province which constitutes the principal territory of Montezuma is circular, and surrounded by lofty and rugged mountains, and the circumference fully seventy leagues. In the plain there are two lakes, which nearly occupy the whole of it, as the people use canoes for more than fifty leagues round. One of these lakes is of fresh water, and the larger of salt. They are divided, on one side, by a small collection of high hills, which stand in the centre of the plain, and they unite in a level strait, formed between these hills and the mountain, which strait is a gun-shot wide; and the people of the cities and other settlements, which are in these lakes communicate with each other in canoes, without the necessity of going by land. And as the great salt lake ebbs and flows with the tide, as the sea does, in every flood, the water flows from it into the fresh lake as impetuously as if it were a large river, and consequently at the ebb

Ernesto
#

Gracia

Lucy

Anna

Sabino

Anto

and fresh from the delicious verdure of the trees, planted along the several roads which run from the

the fresh lake flows into the salt. The great city of Tenochtitlan* is founded in this salt lake, and from *terra firma*. To the body of the city the distance is two leagues, on whichever side you enter. It has four entrances, or causeways, made by the hand of man, as wide as two horsemen's lances.'

The building of the city by the Spaniards, on the old site of Tenochtitlan, dates eighty-eight years before the settlement of Virginia, and one hundred years before the landing of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts. Accounts respecting the population of Tenochtitlan at the time of the conquest, like everything else relating to that event and to the country, are very contradictory, and, in a great degree, unreliable. The Abbé Clavijero proves that the estimates of the population of the capital of the Aztec empire, at the date of its fall, vary from 60,000 to 1,500,000! Humboldt concedes about 400,000. Cortez gives the number of inhabitants in the new city of Mexico, in 1524, three years after the conquest, as 30,000. In 1790, Count Revilla Gigedo ordered a census of the city, which gave 112,926 as the number of inhabitants at that date. In 1803, Humboldt classified the population of the capital as follows:—

White Europeans	2,500
White Creoles	65,000
Indigenous (copper-coloured)	33,000
Mustizes (mixture of whites and Indians)	26,500
Mulattoes	10,000
Total	137,000

The latest official accounts (1856) represent the population of the city as 185,000. I have seen no recent classification of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico after the manner of Humboldt. It is probable that something like the same relative proportions of races that

* This is the Aztec word for Mexico. Humboldt remarks the extreme length of the words of composition in that language, giving two remarkable examples: one amatlacullotituitetlaxtlahuilli, or reward given to the messenger, who carries a paper on which is painted tidings,—and another, notlaxomalruistesapixcatatsin, or, venerable priest whom I cherish as my father, as used by the Mexicans in addressing their holy men.

various gates of the capital, and the meadows which gird in on every side the noblest city of the western hemisphere. The road leads along a causeway enclosed by the Spaniards, sometimes by the very margin, sometimes a mile from the waters of the lake, where millions of excellent water-fowl, whose qualities I fully appreciated at Recamier's excellent restaurant, were ducking and diving in the evening sunlight. Men, horses, cows, and donkeys, stood in the shallow water, fishing out green stuff; and as many of them were a long way off the land, the depth cannot be great. Anything more wretched than the suburbs we entered it would be difficult to imagine; and a stranger wandering there at night would be certain of assassination. There was a considerable guard at

existed when Humboldt wrote (1803) holds good now, with the exception of the mulattoes, this race having entirely disappeared. Very few mulattoes are found on the table-lands of Mexico, and a full-blooded negro is seldom met with. It is an important fact, and one which appears as yet to have attracted little or no attention, that the climate in those regions is destructive to the negro race. This is, doubtless, owing to the highly rarefied and dry atmosphere, which does not admit of that free perspiration indispensable to the full developement of those perceptible emanations of a strong animal nature, so essential to negro perfection. There is an entirely wrong impression abroad relative to the amount of negro blood in the republic of Mexico. It is supposed to be considerable, whereas, in many of the states, its existence even is not known; and only in certain very limited districts, of which Vera Cruz may be considered the principal, can negroes and mulattoes be found; and even in those districts they are few in number.

the Garita or Octroi; but the precaution does not seem of much use, for the diligence was robbed every day I was at Mexico, a few yards from the Garita, notwithstanding that soldiers were more than once sent inside as guard passengers, who shot at one time four robbers, and at another three, in the very act.

The houses are invariably built of the strongest materials, brick or stone, but mostly the latter, and of hard lava. They are erected round yards which are called patios, the principal suite of rooms facing the street, and reached by a stone flight of stairs at the end of the patio. On the ground-floor are offices, porter's lodge, and ware-rooms, if used as an office. The horses are stabled at the end to rings in the wall. The most part of the houses I entered had two stories above, both tastefully paved with tiles. The corridor ran sometimes all round, sometimes round three sides, and was invariably filled with vases of flowers, and generally, in the better style of families, shut in with glass. Above all is the azotea, or flat-paved roof, which is a delightful retreat for the family in the cool of the evening, but renders the houses very insecure against robbers, as one can make one's way over the roofs from block to block without difficulty. This is frequently met by

keeping ferocious dogs chained, whose barking has often kept me awake for hours at night, as they howled against each other, or at the moon. The front windows are all garnished with balconies opening from the windows which come down to the ground, and on days of festival are filled with the gay and glittering dresses of the Mexican ladies, and, hung with carpets of the brightest colours, tapestry, and velvet, presenting not only a most pleasing but even gorgeous picture.* The carriages and mules are

* The display of wares and merchandise in the shops of the traders is brilliant and attractive. Beautiful French porcelain, costly jewellery, articles of cunning device in gold and silver, heavy rich silks and gaudy-coloured 'cottons', fill the windows and shelves. Parades and processions, military and religious, are almost daily seen in the streets. Every afternoon the wealth and fashion of the city congregate on the Paseo, a long avenue or carriage-road, lined with ash, poplar, and willow, and running through the southern suburbs of the city. Here, Mexican gentlemen in gay costume and mounted on fine horses, pompously caparisoned, prance to and fro, or stand by the roadside to catch a glimpse of the ladies as they roll past in their equipages, the most of which are extravagant and showy. The scene is gay, brilliant, almost splendid; and here again the observing stranger is induced to believe that the people must be high in the scale of that social intercourse and refinement which make life profitable and agreeable. In his ordinary intercourse with the higher classes, the stranger encounters a dignified, gracious style of address and courtly manners. In short, the channels of observation ordinarily open to travellers and transient sojourners in the city of Mexico, are calculated to create in the mind a totally false opinion of the political, social, and moral condition of the people. It is a city of glittering, imposing superficialities.

excellent; but when once the shades of night fall, the Great Gate is closed, and the houses are entirely silent, and guarded as if the city was under martial law. A wicket is opened at your knock, that the warder may see your face and demand your business; nor is a stranger admitted without considerable precautions. The streets are deserted; every man carries a revolver; and the habit of muffling himself up in the folds of his serape, with his immense hat flapping over his eyes, makes every lepero * you pass look like a bandit — nor are they much better in reality, and when occasion serves. Except in the Plaza of a moonlight night, Mexico is like a city of the plague at all hours after dark.

The chief glories of Mexico are the Plaza and the Alameda: the former has the cathedral on the north, the National Palace and Congress House on the east, and the two other sides filled nearly with handsome piazzas and well-built shops. Every mansion here is of stone, solidly built, and most of the innumerable convents and colleges of red lava faced with white, and considerably carved and ornamented.†

* Lepero corresponds to lazzarone, and is a generic term—like fellow.

† Owing to the deranged state of affairs occasioned by the civil war, many of the streets are in a very bad condition; some, in fact, almost impassable for the want of repairs, and others blocked up by

Some of these are of immense size. That of San Ildefonso is as big as Christ Church at Oxford, and has five quadrangles ; it still numbers three hundred scholars, and is clean and well preserved ; others are filthy in the extreme — perfect towns of narrow lanes and open sewers, with cells opened by a door, and no window, and the oddest flights of stairs and holes in the wall, leading to small courtyards upon the roof. They are mostly occupied by soldiers' families, and the children looked on our visit with considerable awe. Of course all lead and iron has been long carried away ; but I saw several magnificently carved doors fifty feet high, and some grand old fig-trees still standing intact. Near the San Domingo, one of the finest of the extinct nunneries, is the Piazza of the Evangelistas, as the public letter writers are called, generally old and clean shrewd fellows, who ply apparently a good trade, and certainly write a most excellent hand for a trifle, for the love-sick swain or damsel, who requires to be put into elegant language the outpourings of their fervid imagination. The fellows write very good poetry, too.

The Longa, or Exchange, of the merchants, is a filth, reeking in offensive odours. Improvements of every kind are at a stand. That delightful place of public resort, the Alameda, appears to be entirely neglected, and the grounds generally wear a slovenly and uninviting aspect.

noble room, with billiard and other large chambers issuing off it. There have been balls given here to 2,000 people; and it is filled with all the gazettes, maps, and caricatures of Europe, which the hospitality of the Committee most liberally allows to be open to all strangers, admitted by a member. But the great place of luxury is the Alameda. Though the paint is all cracked and dirty, and the pavement of hewn stone is uneven and occasionally foul, the tangled bushes of foliage, the long avenues of cool verdure, and the trickling fountains, make it a most luxurious lounge in the centre of a populous city. It put me much in mind of old Vauxhall in its palmy days; was quite as large, and the trees finer. The cathedral is very imposing on the outside; but dirty, and choked with choir-screen and altar inside. It is 500 feet long by 420 front. Of course all its riches, and the Virgin of Remedios, with her three petticoats of pearls, emeralds, and diamonds, have long since been sacrificed to the necessities of the State. There is a very badly made thick balustraded rail, about four feet high, running each side of the choir, which they say is made of such valuable brass that a merchant offered to replace it with silver, on account of the great alloy of gold in it. But who can describe the wretchedness of the devotees who sun themselves in

the portal, beg and steal on the steps, and pray with the most intense fervour on the loose disjointed boards? The only place where you can get a contrast to their squalor and looks of patient misery is when they are gaily chanting, as they pole their canoes, laden with fruit and vegetables, far exceeding in size and beauty any I have ever seen, along the canals to the quays near the markets; or passing home again, dancing and singing to the guitar, and covered with flowers.

Along one canal, which leads to the Chenampas or Floating Gardens of the Aztecs, we made a boating-party to the Paseo de la Viga, a fine drive, running the whole length by the water, and enjoyed most excellent sport, some very good rifle practice at the ducks and empty champagne bottles, and, as usual, the most exquisite fruit. The custard-apple, the alligator-pear, the peach, the pine, the granadita or passion-flower, an apple exactly like the king-pippin of the vale of Taunton, and oranges galore. The sparrows, or wrens—for they partook of the nature of both species—hopped quite unconcernedly about us. They were large, with long bills, and very dark brown all over, except a white breast. Ladies never seem to walk in Mexico, and are always in full dress in the carriages. They have here an absurd

custom of sitting down in rows on the dirty door-steps of the portales or arcades during the magnificent moonlight nights. For even in January the air, though cool, is fresh and pure from the great elevation; and though some days I saw the leperos with their serapes tightly wrapt round them, and all the women covering their mouths with the reboso or plaid scarf, I never wore a waistcoat, or more than a ribbon round my neck. Although it was called the winter—and certainly the nights were chilly at times—yet the sun was very warm at midday, and the sky perfectly cloudless: there did not fall one drop of rain while I was in the capital. The flowers also were in bloom: roses were blossoming in every house, and very fine and large they were. The leaves also were on all the trees, and nothing could give one a better idea of the deliciousness of the climate than the crowds of people that from eight to ten thronged the plaza to enjoy the soft light of the moon.*

* The climate is delightful to the senses, but the highly rarefied atmosphere does not prove favourable to the perfection of health, or the highest mental and physical developement of man, according to the standard of the white race north of the isothermal line.

A stranger's first impressions of the city of Mexico are always of the most favourable nature. In the first place, one cannot reach the city without passing through regions of romantic interest, beauty, and grandeur, sufficient of themselves to excite the imagination to the most extravagant degree. Skies, in which are exquisitely blended

The tortilla, or pancake, a tough satisfying edible, forms the great staple of the Mexican breakfast and dinner. It is made and sold by very cleanly-looking damsels, who sit on the kerbstone, and roll and bake for the passers-by with dexterity and neatness over a small charcoal fire. There are usually also pans of chile and meat frizzling, which are spread on the tortilla, and rolled into the form of a sandwich, or rather sausage-roll, and passed down the throats of the hungry breakfasters. This and the everlasting frijoles,* or brown beans, which adorn every meal in

the soft and brilliant, a pellucid, bland atmosphere, circling mountains rising at intervals in stupendous volume, piercing the heavens with their perennial snow-capped peaks, and overlooking a valley of surpassing beauty in its carpeting of green, its lakes and meandering streams, its villages and churches, embosomed in groves and surrounded by richly-cultivated fields—all these dilate the eye of wonder, and prepare the traveller of sound and sober judgement, even to believe in the marvellous as he approaches the site of ancient Tenochtitlan. He enters the comparatively modern city of Mexico, and his eye ranges with pleasure through the long straight streets, lined with buildings of a light colour and pleasing order of architecture; and here and there in his perambulations he stops to admire a private residence or public building, which, in its extent, solidity, taste, and imposing grandeur, cannot fail to induce the belief that the people are far advanced in civilisation and refinement.

* About these same frijoles I was never able to make up my mind. They are sweet and succulent, and, when well-dressed, are satisfactory; but like another standing dish (fried banana fruit), one gets very soon tired of them. The best dish I tasted was *mollé* of turkey. It was very soft, the bones readily separating, as in currie, which it resembled, except that it was of a deep red colour, more spicy, and not quite so hot.

Mexico, from the President's table to the beggar's standing dinner in the street, is usually supplied at about one penny or three-halfpence a fair belly-full to the bachelor Mexican.

As to the ladies, the true place to see them is the theatre: this is their passion, and no wonder, for there is their undoubted reign; they still retain the full power of the fan, the graceful arching of the neck, and the far-darting glance, which is the peculiarity of the Spanish race. They affect the Indian crape shawl, which in the street covers the head, but in the box or on the sofa is thrown back negligently over the shoulders. Bonnets are unknown, but crinoline is triumphant; though the pavements are wide and generally well-kept, it is impossible to pass a lady without stepping into the street, and I have often watched from a balcony the volume passing below me of I do not know how many yards circumference. It is a *furor* here. The lower orders are very gracefully clad; they all wear the reboso, an ordinary kind of plaid scarf, which envelopes the head, and is thrown in a long sweep over the left shoulder; under it they wear but one garment besides the petticoat, which is as fashionable and voluminous as the pecuniary resources of the wearer permit.

Stockings don't seem to trouble them, but their shoes are *good*.*

The first thing that strikes one in the streets of Mexico, is that so many of the public buildings have sunk; which is owing to the spongy nature of the tufo, which forms the basis of the soil of the whole plain, and which caused Humboldt to decide that it formed the crater of an immense extinct volcano with conical hills, such as Guadalupe and others, cropping out at intervals.† The series of lakes to the north,

* The Mexican ladies are not generally so tall or so handsome as the Spaniards, but their features are softer, and, to my eye, more pleasing. They wear the mantilla, but have discarded the high comb, which disfigured the head-dress and spoilt the outline of the figure. Their hands, heads, and feet are remarkably small and well made, and their hair, eyes, and teeth very dazzling. The great fault is the sallow tinge of their skin, equally removed from the rich brown of the Andalusian, or the red and white of the northern beauty. Their knowledge of music and dancing is generally very good, and I heard some very pleasant singing, with no attempt at *bravoura* or extravagant ornamentation. Some of the Spanish airs are extremely beautiful, though almost invariably plaintive. The English ladies in Mexico keep up their country's reputation on horseback; and in the Paseo, in early morning, I have often formed one of a most charming equestrian party, which would have done credit to Rotten Row. I do not think there is much cordiality between the British and Mexican ladies, though the gentlemen seemed very sociable and obliging; indeed, in no country I have travelled in (and there are few I have not) have I met with more flattering kindness and good manners.

† The valley of Mexico, near the centre of which the city of Mexico is situated, is some fifty miles long and thirty miles wide. This valley is supposed to be the enormous crater of an extinct volcano, covered over with a crust of earth of recent formation. The locality

extending in a continuous chain for some hundred leagues, are many feet higher than the city of Mexico; and the inundation which in 1629 laid the capital waste, might at any time again reduce it to destruction, though the desagua, or sewer, which empties the ordinary contents of the valley, is an enormous work, said by Mr. Ward to be from the sluice of Vertideros to the river Tula 67,537 feet in length. The waters of Chalco and Xochimilco, which extend to the south of the capital, have a level which averages at least three feet above the plaza of Mexico; so, that at any moment the whole place may be laid under water, as has already occurred more than once. In the street called San Antonio, there is the statue of a lion, to mark the height at which the water stood at the inundation of 1629.

The cathedral is built on the north side of the great plaza, on the site of Teocalli, the ancient temple dedicated by the Indians to *Huitzilopochli*, the Mexican Mars and tutelary god of the nation.

of the city of Mexico, originally an alkali lake, presents the same physical features in its foundation as New Orleans, being a flat marsh, and water everywhere found three or four feet below the surface. For this reason, many of the buildings have settled considerably, and earthquakes have done their share of mischief. The last severe one, which occurred June 19th, 1858, cracked some of the largest and most substantial structures, and swayed others out of line.

This edifice, commenced in 1573 by order of Philip II., was completed in 1657 under the government of Marcos Ramirez de Prado. It cost somewhere about two millions of *duros* (a duro being worth five francs), and was eighty-four years in construction. The principal façade has three gateways, each adorned with two rows of columns of the Doric order below, and the Ionic above. Its two towers are profusely decorated with statues of stone, representing doctors of the Church and founders of different monastic orders. At the base of one of the towers on the west side, about four feet above the soil, stands the calendar of the ancient Aztecs, covered with the most curious signs and figures, sharply engraven on granite. This is the sole astronomical monument of a period antecedent to the conquest, and is an evidence of the high degree of civilisation which that part of the world had attained, only sullied by the bloody sacrifice of human victims to their gods. This calendar, almost the sole wreck saved of the empire of Montezuma, was dug up in 1790 near the spot where it now stands. It is fixed upright against the wall, and is twelve yards in circumference. It is divided into fifty-two years, and each of these years into eighteen months of twenty days; the phases of the moon, the changes of

the sun, the bissextile years, are all exactly marked upon it. It is naturally an object of the greatest attention both to the foreigner and the native; almost every passer-by is arrested a moment to contemplate so old a record of memories long since passed away, the view of which recalls to the imagination a world full of the most brilliant colours that the history of mankind has given to the poet or the historian. On the steps which lead up to the front are gathered swarms of beggars of the most loathsome description, sunning themselves on the warm stones, and occupying themselves mostly in the industrious search with which the monkeys in the Zoological Gardens may be seen varying the monotony of their existence.* In the centre of the plaza is a large fountain adorned with gilded pillars; round its wide edge the whole surrounding space is commonly covered by the rugs or mats of vendors of the most magnificent fruit which the eye can luxuriate upon. Mexico is so near the tropical countries that twenty-three leagues bring one into the very richest vegetation, and her markets are well

* At the church doors and in the highways, you are pained and disgusted by the sight of the lame, blind, deformed, and diseased, standing, sitting, and lying, some on litters, and demanding charity 'for the love of God, your mother's milk, and the Most Holy Virgin Maria.'

supplied from thence. Sometimes bands of music—and they are all excellent—play in front of the National Palace, and it forms an excellent *place d'armes* for a parade; but to my mind it looks more solemn and more interesting in the dead of night, with the calm, cold moon looking down on its magnificent arena, and silv'ring the thousand points of the old cathedral, than when thronging with busy thousands of armed or peaceful citizens, if indeed there are any such in this wonderful capital.

By the kindness of my friend Don Angel Iturbide, about 2 P.M. on a Sunday I mounted the stone staircase which led to the gallery of the House of Congress; in the palace I found myself in an immense semicircle of about 200 feet diameter—the base being formed by the raised dais surmounted by a canopy of red velvet, beneath which was the President's chair, under a satin flag of green, white, and red, in a gold frame, and the sword of the founder of Mexican independence, Augustin Iturbide, the father of the gentleman who sat beside me. On each side of the canopy were immense folding doors, in and out of which poured a busy group of senators. The floor of the house was thickly carpeted, on which stood in groups, smoking and talking loudly, the busy members. They were voting by states the names of

the deputation, which in the recess represents the popular will in the councils of the President. All the ministers were present. Zamacona, ex-secretary for foreign affairs, a tall intellectual man, much like Mr. Laing, but better looking; Ruiz, secretary of justice, a staid and quiet man, about 40 years of age; Doblado, the prime minister, stout, active, about the middle height, with a quick piercing eye, and a round bullet head, full of power. The President for the month, Don Palacios, a careworn thin little man with gold spectacles, rang his bell continually for the names to be read out by the callers, who took the strips of paper handed in by the members separately, and placed in small porcelain cups, each representing a state. The secretaries recorded the numbers in books, and the President announced the successful candidates. There were three rows of comfortable, well-carved, and well-cushioned arm-chairs, in which the members, who number 195, were supposed to sit. There was no ornament or gilding; the painting and glazing was of the most ordinary, and even tumpery, description, and the galleries filled with all kinds of riff-raff, both men and women; but there was no interruption or sound, except from the members themselves, who made noise enough for all. At about three the President, Juarez, entered amid

an astounding din of cannon and trumpets. He is a dark, small man, quiet, and self-possessed. He is affectionately termed in Mexico 'the little Indian.' Juarez is a very respectable, well-meaning man, and of fair talents; he is a native of Oaxaca, of which State he was governor, and every Englishman who resides there extolled his administration; he is a lawyer, and was Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, and thus became ex-officio vice-president of the country after the flight of Comonfort in 1858. He was then the only legal authority, notwithstanding Zuloaga was recognised and supported by the ministers of France and England. And he deserves very great credit for his firmness and tenacity in maintaining the struggle and the cause of legitimacy against all their combined efforts, united to the strength and power of the dominant and clerical party, till he finally triumphed. He was subsequently elected full president, against several competitors. All sorts of intrigues and combinations have been formed against him, both in Congress and out of it, thwarting and opposing him to compel him to resign; but he has stood firm, and they have not as yet dared to resort to force, and will not. He has scarcely had fair play in England. On taking his seat he bowed gracefully on all sides, and immediately

made the following address in a clear and remarkably pleasant voice.

*Speech of the President of the Republic at the closing
of the Session of Congress, December 15, 1861.*

CITIZEN DEPUTIES,

You are about to suspend your legislative functions in the midst of the most difficult circumstances which have surrounded Mexico since her independence.

Your final resolutions have risen, however, to the grave necessities of the moment, since on retiring you have conceded to the executive all the faculties which are necessary to confront the perils which threaten us.

The Government which sees in these extraordinary faculties, an immense increase of responsibility, and which will exercise them only in the name of the national representation, without other title than the imperious emergency of the circumstances, nor other object than the salvation of the Republic, feels equal timidity in accepting them and desire to return them to the sovereign power from whence they are derived.

The supreme emergency of the present moment does not, however, weaken the hope which the Government has manifested on another occasion, as it does now, of averting the perils which threaten our nationality, and of reestablishing power under the protecting shade of law and of liberty.

The Mexican Government remains faithful to its sentiments of peace and of good feeling towards other peoples,

and of loyalty and moderation towards their representatives; and it hopes to be able to procure that the European Governments, whose judgement has been deceived by the enemies of our liberty, with reference to the situation of the Republic, will ultimately see, in what they allege as injuries, only one of the inevitable consequences of a revolution, highly humanitarian in its character, which the country commenced eight years ago, and which has already proceeded to realise its promises, not only for Mexicans, but also for foreigners themselves. These can easily comprehend that a revolution of reform, which in its progress has wounded more or less (though occasionally) some interests, will, in the end, place upon a solid basis all that is most desirable in point of moral and national order, in behalf of all the inhabitants of the nation, and that it has already substituted religious liberty, freedom of commerce, and fraternity, with the emigrants from other countries, for the system of suspicion and of exclusiveness, which, until recently, has dominated the interior and foreign policy of the Republic. Other peoples cannot overlook, except momentarily, the interest which they have in aiding us with their sympathy in consolidating a revolution, the fruits of which they will enjoy as well as ourselves.

For this it is that the Government hopes that in the war, with which the Republic is threatened, the voice of reason, of justice, and of equity, may yet be heard, and that, rather than by the power of arms, the peril will be allayed by a just and equitable arrangement, compatible with the honour and dignity of the nation.

But if it shall not be so, if it results that our hopes are

frustrated, the Government will employ all the energy which love of country and a consciousness of right inspires to stimulate the people to defend its revolution and its independence; having, as guarantees of success, the justice of our cause and the patriotism which, among all the citizens of the Republic, has been aroused by the sole announcement that the independence of our country might be in peril.

The Government will do its duty; and if, as it does not doubt, Mexico, by a supreme effort of her sons, is preserved through a foreign war, and has the happiness to see peace again established, the Congress, in its next session, will come together to make use of this position, —dictating wise laws, which shall consolidate and finally establish our independence, liberty, and reform.

After the cheers which greeted the President's address had subsided, the President of Congress, Señor Riva Palacios, delivered the following reply:—

CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

Progress is a law of humanity; but this, to develop itself, has required among all peoples those terrible crises which are called revolutions. History teaches us that all nations, to reach reform and true civilisation, have had to pass through terrible ordeals, and to suffer unhappy sacrifices. And it has been often seen that the most powerful peoples have touched upon the borders of ruin, but have saved themselves notwithstanding by the faith and union of their sons.

Mexico passes at this moment through one of these difficult situations, because the upturning which it has been necessary to have felt through its society, to establish reform and secure the regeneration of the country, has given rise to immense difficulties, as well in the interior as in the exterior relations of the Republic.

The Congress of the Union has comprehended this state of things, and its labours have demonstrated that its attention has been divided between the civil struggle which has devoured us, and the foreign war which threatens us; and it has issued laws which tend to terminate, as far as possible, the former, and which will impede or prepare the nation for the latter.

A law has been passed, protecting the citizens in the enjoyment of the guarantees conceded by the fundamental code to them. This law — the fruit of long discussion — is so to speak, the complement of the constitution, which assures the right of the man and the citizen, and opens the tribunals to the complaints of those who shall feel injured in their rights by any of the authorities of the nation or of the States. Without this law these guarantees would not really exist, but only in promise; because there existed neither the mode nor the tribunal which could repair in private cases the abuse of power, to the prejudice of the individual; which latter only saw a remote and improbable indemnification for injuries occasioned by the agent of powers which had no judge.

Postal and extradition treaties celebrated with the United States have been ratified. Respecting the peoples which for a long time have constituted a phase of the civilisation of

Mexico, it has been expressly stipulated that neither those responsible for political offences, nor slaves, shall ever be the object of extradition. Thus, by an international compact with the United States, will remain sanctioned for ever the liberty of the slave, by the fact of touching Mexican territory; and forgetfulness for those who, for political offences, shall fly to the neighbouring nation, pursued by remorse for having cooperated in the misfortunes of their country. At the preceding period of session, and by the imitation of Congress, the executive decreed the law of July 17th, which, among other provisions, suspended the payment of diplomatic conventions. The members of the Cabinet hoped, and so intimated to this House, that this law would not produce any conflict with those powers whose payments were suspended; and as much for this reason as for the right of self-preservation: for the period was a terrible one for the convention. But our diplomatic relations suffered from this law, which was resented by them; and the executive presented to the House, as a solution of the difficulties with England, the treaty arranged between this Government and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty. The stipulations of that treaty appeared to the House injurious to the nation, in that it recognised and covered with the British flag, besides the British convention, the debt contracted in London in 1828, and the payment of the sum taken by the so-called government of Miramon from the house, 11 Calle de Capuchinas. For the payment of all their credits a very large portion of the revenues of its custom-house

was to be sacrificed ; and at the same time, the tariff of duties to mend, and all existing prohibitions removed.

The question as to figures, however, would have been nothing, notwithstanding the great importance of this treaty, had it not also contained stipulations humiliating to the dignity of the Republic. The national bonds, which were to be emitted in virtue of this treaty, required for validity—to bear at the side of the signature of the Minister of the Treasury—the name of the agent of our creditors. By such condition, the paper which was to be delivered, as it was reserved on account of duties, would have a real monetary value ; and without it, if it lacked the signature of the agent.

No nation in the world would have accepted such a humiliation ; and Mexico, if she consented, would, so to speak, have condescended to stamp her money with the arms of England. The administrators and employés also were to be subject to an effective tutelage, exercised by the consular and other agents of the English creditors, who could ask for their revision all the books and documents of the custom-houses.

The Congress saw in all this intervention, reproach and dishonour to the Republic. The sovereignty of a nation cannot be preserved from the moment it has not an absolute independence in the most unimportant of its acts ; because, although the individual in society may be free, and yet depend on an authority and a judge, a nation can depend on no one, and have no other judge of its actions but God. Congress, at the same time, desires peace : it desires it in the name of the Republic ; it desires it at

all costs, and at whatever sacrifice short of the national honour;—but never at the sacrifice of the sovereignty and independence of the nation.

The honour of Mexico was shamefully compromised in the treaty, and it was rejected without hesitation. But as a proof of the morality of the nation, always desirous of complying with its promises, and that it was not interest which moved the national representation to reject the treaty, the law of July 17th, which suspended payment of the diplomatic conventions, was repealed in this part on the day following the rejection of the treaty, and provision made for the payment of the dividends which would have to be satisfied during the time for which the suspension had continued under the law.

War, however, appears certain. Spain hastens with a squadron; the ministers of England and of France demand their passports and retire; and the threat of a league between Spain, France, and England is now presented in the horizon as a tempest.

In these solemn moments the House believed that it was necessary that the Republic should prepare for the combat. Mexico is not an infirm and feeble nation, as it has been sought to paint it in the eyes of Europe; and if the bloody struggles of long civil war have deprived her of part of her strength, the union of all her sons will present her again powerful. Born of this conviction, the law of amnesty comes to procure the union of all Mexicans, with forgetfulness of all political offences.

The defence of the country is a glorious opportunity, which Providence has prepared for those who were still

combating, with arms in their hands, against the legitimately constituted government, to cease their useless strife and come to group themselves for the commencement of a national war, under the flag which our fathers have left us when they bequeathed us independence. Mexico has had political parties, whose profound divisions have enveloped the Republic in blood ; but Mexico has not had, nor will there ever be found, traitors who will join the ranks of the enemies of their country.

By a decree Congress, before closing its session, have authorised the executive, in the most ample manner, to detail all measures that it may deem necessary under the present circumstances to confront the situation — saving only the national independence and integrity of territory, and the peoples of the constitution.

By this — the greatest proof of confidence which a legislative assembly of the country has ever given to the depository of the executive power—the Congress confides the salvation of the Republic ; because it is convinced that in moments so supreme, energy and efficiency depend almost always on unity of action ; and this idea is found also in our fundamental code, which authorises Congress to concede these extraordinary powers. Incalculable is the weight which will rest upon the shoulders of the executive, terrible the responsibility which, from this day forward, it is about to assume itself alone ; — but also immense are the resources which are placed at its disposal, and unlimited the faculties which have been conceded to it.

The sole consideration of the necessity of saving the country decided Congress to take this step. Upon the

executive it now depends (and upon no other) to save the Republic, or to precipitate it into the abyss. The national assembly suspends to-day its legislative labours; but it will remain always on the watch, as the sentinel of the public liberties, and ready to return to meet again, at the moment when its presence shall be in any degree necessary for the good of the country. It will then receive of the executive an account of the power which it to-day delivers into its hands with so perfect a comfort.

If the foreign question is not settled pacifically—if a scene of war is to be spread out over our country—we will enter into the combat; and the justice of our cause and the love of our country will present, more or less near, but always true and beautiful, a future for Mexico.

GOD PRESERVE THE REPUBLIC!

And after more shouting and cannonading the session broke up and every one went their way.

In my varied wanderings I have always greatly affected religious edifices. I have sat, with extreme patience, in the Morea and Bulgaria, through the Greek service, chanted by papas swarming with vermin, and have had endeavoured to be explained to me the endless mysteries of the unintelligible Greek creed. I have had many learned controversies with ulemas of high degree in the Moslem creed, and under the solemn protection of the seraskier, who, luckily for me, was an old friend at

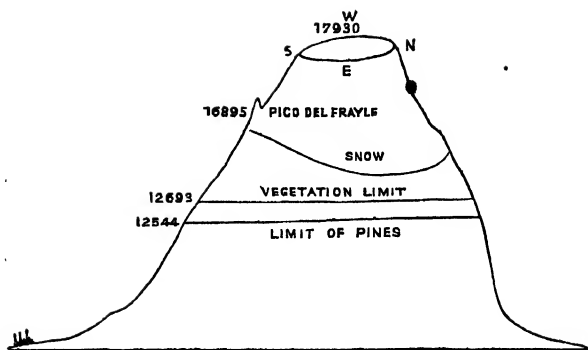
Stamboul; I have bearded, in their den, the great fanatics of Damascus, who never speak to a heretic without immediately clearing their mouth by a good expectoration. I have also made a passing acquaintance with the sheik of the dancing dervishes, whom I found a very pleasant fellow, though rather dull; and I once had great difficulty in preventing an appeal to me on a question of the Greek Testament, between the Latin and Armenian patriarchs, the honoured guest of both of whom I had been in Jerusalem for many days; so I set to work to get a good cicerone in Mexico, and found a dispossessed abbé of San Francisco Assisiato, who, I verily believe, said masses for my soul every day I spent there. He told me he had great hopes of my conversion; I won his heart by supporting him in an energetic denunciation he was indulging in of Luther, whom he called *infame apostodo*, &c., mixed with much spitting and gesticulation against some heretics, who were driving him hard on the corruptions of the Romish church under Leo X. I thought, with great terror, he was going to hug me when I said I had no admiration for Luther's personal character. The man stank abominably of garlic; but a more honest, and, I believe, pious man does not exist than my excellent friend Don Alphonso Maria de Argentia Magna

Græcia. Under his auspices I explored every church and every monastery, and endured the groans and lamentations with which he showed me the deserted cells and cloisters of the condemned convents, including his own, the pleasant corners of which he surveyed with real tears, poor man ! He has but a small allowance in lieu of his former revenue. But I regret to say that the paganism, the ignorance, the trickery and idolatry I saw through his means did not warrant his warm aspirations of my being of the true faith at last, though I cordially deprecated such wholesale destruction as I saw. Matters of faith I carefully eschewed, as it was hopeless we could agree ; but my sympathy with the dispersion of his community covered all my sins. Certainly I have no hesitation in saying, that the priests in Mexico are the lowest order of pretended intellectual beings I ever saw, and the stories of their personal conduct won't bear repeating.*

* *Funciones solemnes*, or other religious performances, may be witnessed in the principal towns and cities almost daily. You enter a church and invariably encounter a motley crowd, exhaling unseemly odours, and dispensing small vermin on every side. There is a small sprinkling of well-dressed, well-appearing individuals found in these gatherings ; but filth, disease, deformity, brutishness, and abject heathenism are the prevailing characteristics of these assemblages and processions. It is impossible for an individual of respectable education and ordinary delicacy of feeling and moral sense — whether man or woman — to join a crowd in one of these *pagodas* or *jos* temples, called churches, without feeling ineffable disgust.

No one will deny that these structures, especially in the largest cities, evince an imposing and noble order of architecture; and here all that is good, respectable, and decent, ends. Some of the cathedrals and principal churches have considerable solid gold and silver about their altars; but the prevailing style of the interior fitting up is of the tinsel, flash, and tawdry order, interspersed with miserable daubs of paintings and images, intending to represent Jesus Christ, saints, virgins, and martyrs. The style of raiment borne by these figures varies from a wisp of cloth, such as is worn by the wild Indians, to that of full military, fancy ball dress, or Indian costume, — a mixture to suit vulgar, vitiated tastes, and minister to superstitious feelings. This is the interior aspect of the Mexican Church at the present day. Fifty years ago there was in one of the churches in the city of Mexico an image of the most ghastly and horrid appearance, intended to represent the Saviour. Its eyes were worked by wires, and the large, blood-shot balls were made to roll in the most frightful manner whenever it was thought necessary to inspire terror. This hellish contrivance proved too much for the sensibilities of a portion of the worshippers, especially women *enciente* and of a nervous temperament. Several cases of insanity occurring under its influence, it was finally removed, and now lies, with other rubbish, in an old stone-house in the village of Guadalupe, near the capital.

The strange heathen mummary, a species of Nagualism, that passes in Mexico under the name of Christianity, may be accounted for in the fact that the adventurous, conquering Spaniards, superstitious, fanatical, and vicious themselves, encountered in Mexico a superstitious, fanatical, but comparatively *virtuous* people. The Spaniards found the mythological system of the natives all-powerful, paramount, in fact, to everything else in their social organisation; nevertheless, fathers of the Catholic Church, with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, made light work of forcing the masses to undergo the slight formal process considered necessary to release them from what they termed the darkness of paganism, and bring them under the benign, purifying, and revivifying influences of Christianity. But now nearly three and a half centuries have passed, and it is found that the Christianity introduced into Mexico by the Spaniards has adapted itself to the paganism of the natives, and obliterated their original virtues by engrafting upon them the worst vices of the conquering race.



CHAPTER IV.

ENVIRONS OF MEXICO.

*Volcano of Popocatepetl.**

ON the 28th April, 1844, Baron Gros and M. Von Gerolt made a successful ascent. They reached the limit of vegetation at 3 P.M., and rested till 2 A.M., when they ascended one hour and a half on horse-back, till the heavy sands compelled them to dismount. They passed the broad belt which separates the eternal snow from the limit of vegetation, over thick layers of volcanic sand, in four hours, having

* I have taken this account from an American work as being the best description I could find.

carefully veiled their faces to protect their eyes from the blinding reflection. At sunrise they saw the gigantic shadow of the volcano spread out over the western level, even to the distant horizon; at 8.30 they reached the Pico del Frayle, a porphyritic rock, which shoots upwards to the height of 200 feet, and breakfasted. Here their Indian servants rebelled; no promises or threats could induce them to go farther. They therefore proceeded with a youth of eighteen, a servant of poor murdered Egerton,* and penetrated a deep ravine formed by one side of a spur of rocks, which springs upwards from the Pico eastwardly. This ravine faces the south, and through it the melting snows discharge themselves into the Vale of Amilpas; and although the limit of snow is 2,000 feet below them, the sharp and slippery rocks on its warmer bed were quite bare. In three hours they reached the upper end of the gorge, where it terminates in the solid lava, which forms the dome of the volcano. Their path lay over beds of snow, into which they frequently sank to their waists; yet they describe the labour and difficulty as less than the passage across the slippery sands and rocks of the barranca (ravine).

At 2.30 they stood on the edge of the crater, which

yawned below them, filled with curling vapour. The highest point is to the west. Its shape is that of an irregular ellipse; the greatest diameter lies between north-east and south-east, and is of about 5,000 feet, the shorter nearly 4,000; the circumference is about a league. Its rough walls plunge to the depth of 1,000 feet, and the bottom is not so large as the rim. As the sun's rays penetrated the lowest depths of the crater they saw the base distinctly, from which two fountains of sulphur continually spouted whitish smoke, which hung around the crannies of the steep rocky walls, depositing a crust on the holes and cracks. The whole was encrusted with sulphur, and must have accumulated for centuries.

On the upper edge the snow, drifted by winds, curled over the sharp edges, but there were no indications of sulphur on the nearest rocks; yet in various parts of the rim there were circular vents, from two to five feet in diameter, whence sulphurous steam issues with a roaring sound, intermittent in strength and volume. M. Von Gerolt descended sixty feet into the crater, over masses of red porphyry. These contain much vitreous felspar, and approach the character of porous lava; while the huge wall opposite seemed composed of different rock, and through a telescope appeared the colour of violet-

gray, deposited in horizontal strata, like the volcano near Ayutla.

The frequent earthquakes felt in the Republic, heaving the whole land from the Gulf to the Pacific from east to west, like the undulations of the sea, and manifesting themselves at all parts where there are indications of volcanic action on the surface, can only be accounted for by the hypothesis that at a great depth all these volcanoes, separated near their summits by transition and volcanic rock, have a general communication over some vast central furnace, where the elements are in a continual ferment.

*It is related that, in the great earthquake of March 1834, at 10.30 p.m., the phenomenon was announced by the regular oscillations of the earth from east to west, augmenting gradually till it became difficult to stand erect, while hundreds suffered as from the nausea of sea-sickness. The arches of the aqueduct of Mexico, running in an easterly direction, were split in their centre, while the one that comes from the north remained uninjured. The earthquake was experienced nearly at the same moment in Vera Cruz, St. Andres, Jautla, Huatasco, eight leagues from the volcano of Orizaba, Jalapa, and Puebla, but it was not felt three leagues north of Huatasco, or a few leagues both north and south of

Mexico. Westward it was felt at Morella, and at Aca-pulco was so violent that it destroyed houses, cracked the earth, and finally so heaved the sea that it rose and swelled as in a tremendous storm during its five minutes' duration. There were no meteoric phenomena, no subterraneous noises, and no perceptible change in the altitude of the barometer.

M. Von Gerolt came to the same conclusion as Humboldt, that the whole surface had been raised from the interior to its present level : hence the primitive and transition rocks. He adds, the day was remarkably clear ; few clouds, and those high up in the air, appeared in the sky, which was almost black in the intensity of its azure, and as far as the eye could reach in every direction there was one uninterrupted waving of mountain, valley, and plains, until earth and sky blended in vapoury blueness. On the east the tall cone of Orizaba stood up in bold relief, like a point of flashing steel, with its snowy peak ; while 200 feet below the snow range of Ista-cihuatl exhibited not the slightest evidence of crater or volcanic origin.

Mr. Glennie, British consul, Mr. Buckley, Mr. Thornton, and Señor Zamacona, have since ascended, but left no particulars of their ascent.

St. Angel.—On a brilliant morning Mr. W.'s car-

riage, with a pair of slashing horses, ran us over the plain to this village, where we proceeded to the cotton factory of Tazapan. Every single contrivance that skill or money can procure is here in full operation, and the cloth produced is quite first-rate. Some of the pattern cotton I saw was equal to the finest imported from the United States; but the supply, as I have elsewhere estimated, is very precarious. After lunch we crossed the stream which turns the mill (steam is used when this fails); and, winding up a valley, which put me much in mind of the Italian dells about Tivoli, we mounted a platform of lava, strewn and heaving in a broad belt across the slopes of the mountains for some miles, and called the Pedrigal, or place of stone. It is about two miles wide and forty feet deep, and rent and torn in every direction by earthquakes, subsequent to its deposit. I saw in one place a rancho or farm of some hundred acres of good land completely embraced by it. The first thing that struck me was a magnificent oak and walnut, growing side by side on the platform, which, in size and elegance of form, would grace the finest park. The roots crept in and out of the clefts of the lava-blocks, and there was on the surface a rich *detritus*, on which grew the finest vegetables imaginable. Just above the Pedrigal, to the right, was the

church and village of St. Jeronymo, where the American army bivouacked previously to gaining the battle which won Mexico. It is a lovely spot, on the foaming river, and embowered in the finest trees. The Mexican army was encamped on high ground above them, the entrenchments and breastworks still remaining to mark their position ; but in the night, General Scott sent his rifles up the valley, who, from a barranca, or deep-wooded ravine, took the camp in the rear, and in *thirteen minutes* routed the whole army, never to be reunited. From this spot we took a carriage with four mules, which ran us six miles in little more than half an hour, over an excellent road, past three fine factories, to the cleft in the hill from which issues the river. A place called Cañada received us, where a number of good-looking idle men and women busied themselves in helping us out, and then staring us out of countenance. We steadily set ourselves to ascending the valley, and after two miles of fair path, clomb sometimes one side and sometimes the other of the rushing gurgling stream, choked with large boulders which had fallen from the adjoining heights, until, after two hours' incessant mounting, we reached a point where there was barely room for the river to pass. The scene was exquisitely calm and beautiful. Above the clear water stretched on each

side pine woods, till they met the bare cliffs, which bastioned out of the rich verdure in castellated masses. Not a sound but the hoarse murmur of the river, and no life visible but multitudes of humming-birds, flashing their brilliant plumage in the sun. '

By a zigzag path we won our way to the top of the hill to the right, when the whole view of the plain burst on our delighted sight. Close before us was the lofty hill of Huesco, clothed with pine forest to the summit; while the deep gorge that we had just climbed lay dark and silent below us, save for the distant sound of its waters dashing over the boulders. Right in 'front stretched the plain of Mexico, studded with countless churches and villages, to the palace of Chapultepec, and the white towers and cupolas of Mexico; and beyond it, the blue lake of Tescoco, and the surrounding hills; while to the right, over the curious conical volcanic hills which dotted the plain, soared the snow-clad summits of Istacihuatl and Popocatepetl, the clouds which stood high above them casting a grey shadow on their spotless crowns. It was a perfectly calm day,—not a breath of wind, and hardly a cloud; while the height at which we were—11,000 feet—tempered the heat of the sun's rays. The view embraced everything a

painter's eye could desire—wood, water, cultivation, the distant city, the near forest, the snow range, and the magnificent foreground of fine pine trees, with soft greensward under them. The eye was quite drunk with beauty; but, in the midst of it, came the ominous sound of shots. I said at once, 'Poachers!' but my friends of the country said, 'Alas! no such harmless lawlessness;' and, on their advice, we descended the hill post-haste, and a delightful ride of two hours brought us safe back to Mexico.

Guadalupe.—The 12th of December is the great day of the year in Mexico, being the *fête* of the patron saint,



IMAGE AT GUADALUPE.

Neustra Señora de Guadalupe. The legend runs that, A.D. 1531, an Indian, one Juan Diego, was honoured

with a visit from the Virgin, on the hill now crowned by ecclesiastical edifices, but then a barren waste. She three times ordered him to go to the archbishop, or whatever dignitary then represented the supreme clerical authority in the capital, and, by way of credentials, ordered him to gather a quantity of roses and flowers on Mount Tepejac, a barren hill in the neighbourhood. These, as a matter of course, he found growing there, and folded in his serape. The churchman was at first incredulous; but, on the Indian's opening his serape to show the flowers he had enclosed, the figure of the Virgin, which now exists in the cathedral shrine, crowned, &c., &c., was found emblazoned on his ayate, or net-bag, and the miracle was declared. Every tenth woman is called Guadalupe in the country; her image is hung up in every house, and the day is celebrated with every honour.

From an early hour bells clanged, and every one was out going to mass in his best suit. The shops were all shut, and most of the houses decorated with small pictures of the Virgin, framed, and surmounted with muslin and lace curtains; and at night the balconies were hung with lamps.

We took the cars almost in the centre of the city, a very gaudy American locomotive propelling some eight or ten very roomy, well-filled, and comfortable

carriages, containing each seventy or eighty persons, along a single line of four miles to the place of pilgrimage. The rail ran along a very ancient Indian road, parallel to the main road to Pachuca, which was crammed with devotionists, all bound to the same spot, on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, rich and poor, nobles and serfs, pell-mell. Both roads ran on a causeway over that portion of the lake which comes close up to the capital on this side, and on which thousands of ducks were very quietly disporting themselves. We passed a quantity of praying stations, half tower, half obelisk, profusely carved; but, fortunately for us, in a much more easy and comfortable manner than the original travellers, who frequently, I was told, made the journey on their knees. We were put down a few yards from a square, about as broad as Trafalgar, and twice as long, in which surged to and fro a motley assemblage of about 20,000 people, the centre forming a dense mass, struggling into and out of the great door of the church; within which, however, the horrible stench of strong incense, and the exhalation from so many human beings, effectually prevented my penetrating far. Outside, the greatest gaiety and excitement prevailed; everybody seemed half mad, and the only sensible animal I saw was a half-starved dog, whose

feelings I thoroughly sympathised with, as he howled with might and main against the fifty great bells that incessantly clanged for hours over our heads. The order of the day was, of course, eating and drinking. Spread on the ground was every description of eatable and drinkable; but such viands! Sheep's heads in every stage of cooking, frizzling on gridirons over charcoal; strips of jet-black dried meat; sausages of the most revolting appearance; stews of doubtful odour; and, by way of contrast, fruits in all their gorgeous simplicity were cried in every tone of the human voice by ladies, whose costume varied from little more than a chemise to the most gorgeous finery. Occasionally a troop of red lancers paced slowly through the crowd to keep order; but their horses, arms, and clothes were of a very dilapidated description.

There were stations all the way up the hill to the chapel at the top, to which we climbed with great perseverance through the masses that kept ascending and descending the innumerable steps. About half-way up is an anomalous stone structure, representing a mast with all sails set, about fifty feet high, the effect of which is extremely ludicrous. Of course it records some escape from shipwreck. All over the stairs were small gambling knots,

playing for coppers on very variegated boards, painted with figures and devices; but, though I watched narrowly, I could not make out any principle of either gain or loss. It was played with dice, and the audience sympathised in loud terms with both winners and losers. I also saw one monte table, where about one hundred players were very busy with silver. On the top, the whole hill was covered with groups engaged in eating and drinking *pulque*;* most were dressed in very bright colours, and I saw many a squalid woman, with a child slung to her back, who wore a bright blue or light pink gauze silk skirt, which had formerly girt in the waist of some ball-room belle. Even the bits of drugget which wrapped the shoulders of some ragged pilgrims, in lieu of the universal serape, were of the most gorgeous patterns. At a short distance the hill

* *Pulque* is the fermented juice of the *aloe*. The plant, when about to flower, is cut close, and a syphon is inserted in the cavity whence the tall stem would have risen. From this exudes a milky fluid, which is pleasant to the taste, slightly intoxicating, and is the national drink of the country. In addition to the *pulque* there was another delicious drink, to which I invariably paid my respects: it was made from tamarinds, and served from earthen jars, wrapped in flannel and placed in a draught to cool. The preparation was simple: from the fruit crushed to a pulp and mixed with the coarse sirup of the country, a thick liquor was drawn off, partly in a fermented state, which, when diluted and settled, was strained off into jars, mixed with spice or fragrant herbs to suit the taste; the same drink is also made from the *ananas*, or pine-apple.

presented the appearance of being spangled with those small sweet beads, which I used, in my schoolboy days, to buy as Harlequin's eggs.

By far the greater portion of the devotees were Indians, who come, with their wives and families, from immense distances. My companion, who had resided here for thirty years, took me to a great many groups. They talked their own lingo, and in very different dialects, but had an indifferent acquaintance with Spanish. Altogether, it was a marvellous collection of human beings.

There is a holy well near the principal church, where some 2,000 men, women, and children, were squeezing to get at the holy water; and they splashed and dabbled in the muddy gutter that ran from the sacred precincts till they looked smeared with mud. Of course they carried away with them bottles, calabashes, and gourds, full of the sacred panacea for a rainy day, or for the old and sick they had left at home. The altar seemed of magnificent marble, the screen and pillars of different colours and highly polished. The ornaments were all green and gold, and seemed to be newly decorated. Probably before the late robbery of the churches the shrine was the richest in the world. Round the case containing the picture were formerly clusters of emeralds, diamonds,

and pearls, and above it rested the figure of a very large Madonna in solid silver; there were also rails, candlesticks, stands, and desks, all of solid silver. Where did all the money go to? There are pictures, some not badly executed, and silver and wax representations of miracles performed by the virgin, under sometimes very strange circumstances—heads, arms, legs, and even two long braids of hair, testifying the gratitude of devout votaries to the author, as they believed, of their deliverance.

The finest man I saw was a Yankee. He attracted my attention by the ultra-Mexicanism of his get-up. His preposterously broad white felt sombrero was covered by the little silver figures they greatly affect,—the rose, the anchor, two hearts pierced by an arrow, the eagle with a snake in his beak, the crest of Mexico, &c., &c. His ranchero jacket, of brown leather, was profusely embroidered with yellow worsted braid, and open in front to show his worked shirt. His gaudy serape, of brown and crimson, hung over his left shoulder; his waist was encircled by a broad white leather band; while below, his trousers of brown leather, were open up the outer seam from top to bottom, to show his snow-white calzoncillos, and the massive silver buttons, which jingled as he swaggered through the crowd, six feet

high, with an eye like a hawk, wiry and active, with sinews like catgut. He looked a dangerous customer for half-a-dozen ; and such they told me he had proved himself. As coachman of the diligence, he had over and over again behaved with distinguished gallantry, and now was manager of one of the silver mine conductas which brought down specie to the coast.

As we sat in the waiting-room of the station, the President's family arrived and took seats. There was no fuss or attention paid them, except that they were very unpleasantly stared at. The mother is a nice-looking, ladylike dame of forty, graceful and dignified. Her three daughters, from twenty to thirteen, were rather tall, rather stout, and fairly good-looking.

Till late at night the same scenes went on, and continued for days. Nothing disagreeable occurred that I heard of; every one seemed happy and contented.

I should mention there were some of the curious Indian people, called Pintos, or spotted. They were excessively ugly, but are reported to be extremely gentle and docile, as indeed all the Indians are. They all, however, both in colour, height, and features, put me strongly in mind of the pictures of Esquimaux—a people they more nearly resembled in

appearance than any others I have ever met in my wanderings.

The fertility of the soil is remarkable, and in some places almost marvellous. In the valley of Mexico, they estimate the returns of maize in the Hacienda de la Condesa (poor land) at 125 for 1, and sometimes they get 140 for 1 bushel sown. In the Hacienda del Molino they gathered last year 137 for 1. At the Hacienda de Guadalupe 180 to 200, and they have raised 250; but these are not the most favourable spots. In others, where the conditions, such as seasonable rains, &c., have been auspicious, the produce has been almost fabulous. In the Bajio, for instance, the return from the best lands, with a plentiful supply of water, is 250 to 300 for 1, and wheat 40 to 60. At S. Andres Chalchicomula (Puebla) 300 for 1. In Balzal Quillo 400 to 500 for 1. And in many parts of the Tierra Caliente they raise two crops easily in the year, and sometimes three.

Maize is the most important of the agricultural productions: the most generally and advantageously cultivated—the food of the people as well as their beasts—it is emphatically the corn of the country; but the other cereals, corn, barley, are of the most excellent quality. Cattle are also reared in very large

herds, sheep, and also goats; there are large tracts exclusively used for rearing the latter. The total agricultural return has been very roughly estimated at from \$220,000,000 to \$230,000,000; but it could undoubtedly be augmented to any extent, were it made profitable to undertake the increase.*

The state of agriculture is rude and imperfect to the last degree, and it is a proof of the amazing fertility of the soil that it yields such returns with such very miserable tillage.

Water is the great fertiliser; manure is never used. The land can scarcely even be said to be ploughed, in the English sense of the word: it is merely scratched on the surface with a very primitive instrument, such

* The *platana* or *plantain* tree is the chief feature of the country. It forms an impervious hedge round every estate; its ample leaves wave and nod in the breeze; along the *Camino Real*, and thousands of feet above the sea, it is to be found nestling, green and flourishing, in some *vallescito*, with the rude hut of the mountain labourer peeping forth from its leaves. It was not known in America before the arrival of the Spaniards. It attains its greatest perfection in a moist rich soil; and in large plantations is set out in regular walks or roads, about eight feet apart. It is reproduced by shoots, which arrive at maturity shortly after its first year; the stem gradually decays from the period of the ripening of the fruit, and is cut down when the young shoots put forth. Thus the plantain goes on producing to infinity: the flowers, the half-grown, the fully ripe fruit, in clusters—all mingling with the rich green foliage, to which their gay hues form a beautiful contrast. There is no such thing as a season for them—it is perpetual harvest—the tempting clusters bending themselves down within reach every week of the year.

as I have seen in use among the Arabs, and probably came from Spain, and has remained unimproved from time immemorial. Of course it was hopeless to expect Spaniards to improve anything. It is a rude wooden affair, drawn by two oxen ; the labourer holds it with one hand and a goad in the other. Since the Yankees were here, however, there has been introduced into the lands near Puebla and Mexico, a light handy plough, worked by mules ; but its use is confined to a few enterprising and intelligent farmers—a class which one can easily imagine does not flourish highly in Mexico, either in numbers, or, indeed, in consideration. Instances are not uncommon of corn being allowed to perish in the ground, because it would not pay the farmer the expenses he would have to incur in gathering it in. Under all these circumstances, what motive can they have for improving their agriculture beyond their wants ? The great variety of climate, owing to the different elevations of the plateau above the level of the sea, and consequent varieties of productions, is another remarkable feature of the country. In the valley of Mexico you find yourself in the region of wheat, barley, and all the products of the temperate zone, being more than 7,000 feet elevation ; a ride of a few hours to Cuernavaca, 17 leagues direct from the capital, will bring you into a tropical climate

and tropical vegetation, where the sugar-cane is the favourite cultivation. All the products are excellent, and most of them capable of great improvement, sugar particularly; the coffee is equal to the best Jamaica; tobacco very superior; and now that the monopoly is extinguished, and cultivation free, ought to rival the best foreign growths; drugs, dye-wood, india-rubber, pine-gum, might all be cultivated to great advantage, and the lands lying all along the coast might afford a thriving and lucrative commerce.

Travellers have reproached the Mexicans with the wretched state of their agriculture, very unreasonably and inconsiderately. They have no inducement to improve it, or to increase the produce. There are no markets, no roads; consequently grain and such bulky commodities are very difficult and very expensive to transport; if raised beyond the demands of their particular and limited district they are of no value. The carriage of such an article as maize will so raise the price, that it cannot be conveyed beyond a very short distance from the ground that produced it. It frequently happens that there has been a failure of crops about Mexico, at the very time when they have been so abundant in the Bajio, and on such places, as to be selling at three or four reals the fanega (150 lbs.), i.e., 1s. 6d. or 2s. for three

bushels of corn; but this abundance affords no relief to Mexico; for the cost of transport is so enormous that it raises the price to that charged there, and even higher. In many parts of the country, pigs are fed on maize, as being the cheapest food; and certainly the animals seem to appreciate their good fortune, for in no country are they so generally fat and well-liking. They are certainly the best fed animals of the country for exportation. In point of fact, it is difficult to mention any article which this country does not, or could not, produce, such is its extraordinary variety of soil and climate. Let but the population calm down to labour, and naturally increase; let markets be created, roads be rendered passable, and agriculture will obey the natural law of progress, both in extension and in improvement. The fifteen millions of minagrammes of wheat produced in New Spain, are raised on an extent of land, five times less than the same would require in France. Those who reflect on the riches of the soil of Mexico, know that the portion of land already brought under cultivation could produce sufficient for the subsistence of a population eight or ten times greater, with only a little more attention to cultivation; and without supposing any extraordinary exertion to irrigate, if the fertile plains of Atlisco, Cholula, and

Puebla, do not produce more abundant harvests, it is owing entirely to the want of consumption.

Remedios is a small village, nine miles from Mexico, called from the Virgin Dos Remedios, and is a great place for Indian worship; indeed, many of their native rites are mixed up with the Catholic in the celebration. It takes its rise from the finding of a small doll which had been dropped somehow in the retreat from Mexico of the Spaniards, on what is still remembered as 'Noche Triste,' and on their return and safe re-establishment, it was proclaimed a *miraculous* image, and a shrine built on the spot where it was found, with every addition of native splendour.

The Virgin is in great repute, and is lent out to other churches at enormous rentals per day; though *misbelievers* do hint that the real doll is in the cathedral at Mexico, and another, much prettier, serves just as well.

Chapultepec, or the Hill of the Grasshopper, is an imposing rock, rising abruptly from what is now the plain, but was formerly the Great Salt Lake. At its foot is a very beautiful kind of park, in which are some of the world-known cy-

* See Humboldt's 'Essai Politique on Cerealia.' His work is still the best, if not the only reliable authority on Mexico.

presses. One, still bearing the name of Montezuma, I measured, about five feet from the ground, I found to be over forty feet in girth, and fifty over the knobs, which protrude on all sides. The buildings which crown the hill, though extremely dilapidated, are imposing from their size and the solidity of their original structure; but there are no vestiges of any Mexican or Aztec remains, except the splendid cypresses. The view from the top of the towers is magnificent. Between this and Mexico is the pretty village of Tacubaya, now completely deserted, but full of the most delightful villa residences, with gardens and terraces, amongst which is a fine palace of the Archbishop, now a barrack, and almost in ruins. It was here that a talented English artist, Mr. Egerton, was murdered in 1842, with his newly-married wife. He had gone out in the evening with her for a walk, and was found next day pierced with eleven wounds; his wife was found in an adjoining field of aloes, naked to her stockings and shoes, stabbed to the heart, and strangled and violated. Of course the perpetrators were never discovered. Here also was enacted the massacre of 1860.*

* *Miramón's Order after the Battle of Tacubaya.*

General-in-chief of the National Army.

Mexico, April 11, 1861.

In the afternoon of to-day, and under Your Excellency's most strict responsibility, Your Excellency will give the order for all the

prisoners holding the grades of officers and chiefs, to be shot, informing me of the number which have fallen under this lot. God and Law,

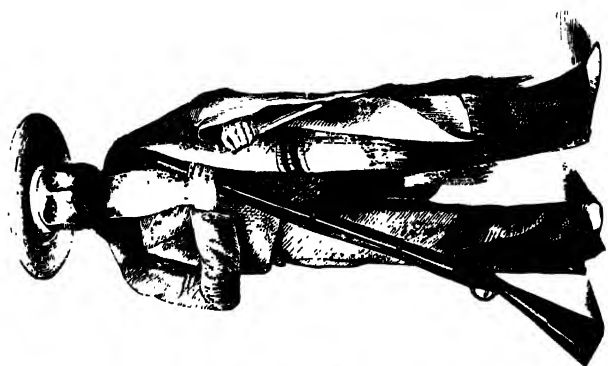
MIRAMON.

To His Excellency General of Division-in-chief
of Operations, Sr Leonardo Marquez.

Leonardo Marquez to the People of Mexico.

Know ye, that in virtue of the faculties with which I find myself invested, I have thought fit to publish the following decree:—

1. Benito Juarez, and all who have obeyed him or recognised his government, are traitors to their country, as well as all who have aided him by any means, secretly, or indirectly, no matter how insignificantly.
2. All persons coming under any of the heads of the preceding article shall be shot immediately on their apprehension, without further investigation than the identification of their persons.



COSTUMES.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

CHIHUAHUA.

COTTON is grown in this State, and those engaged in raising it say the crop never fails. The climate and soil are adapted to cotton raising. Cotton is also taken from this State to the southern manufactories.

The climate and soil are also well adapted to the raising of tobacco.

In minerals this State exceeds any other in the Republic. There is coined in the mint in the city \$1,000,000 in silver annually. Of the silver taken from the mines not one-third comes to the capital for coinage. One-half of the metal taken from the mines of Jesus Maria is coined; the other half is smuggled out of the country at Guaymas, and exchanged for goods smuggled in there. One-half of the Coralitas silver is coined; the other is smuggled out at El Paso, thence to New Orleans.

COLIMA.

The small State of Colima, recently a territory, is situated on the Pacific Ocean, between the ports of Acapulco

and San Blas. It is bounded north and east by Jalisco, south and west by the Pacific. The physical configuration of this State is very singular. It is traversed by barrancas or ravines of immense depth, with but few passes, while its bleak mountains and volcanic peaks pierce the heavens, giving to the country in general a barren and gloomy aspect. The climate for the most part is healthy, though at the base of the mountains the heat is excessive.

The natural productions in agriculture are cotton, indigo, coffee, rice, frijoles, cocoa, chili, tobacco, and sugar-cane, with fruits, such as palm of cocoa, oranges, lemons, plantains, pine-apples, pomegranates, &c.

The principal branches of industry are, after agriculture, the manufacture of sugar, aguardiente, soap, and several species of cotton and woollen fabrics, for which there are two or three small factories. No mines are worked in this State, though it is considered rich in silver, copper, lead, iron, sulphur, nitrate, &c.

Manzanillo, situated immediately on the Pacific, is the only port. Its harbour is deep and quite secure, but owing to the low back country, full of lakes of stagnant water, from which comes up a pestiferous miasma, the port of Manzanillo is, perhaps, one of the most unhealthy and fatal to Europeans that can be named. It has recently acquired some importance from the fact that the California steamers occasionally touch there, and receive considerable amounts of specie brought from the interior.

Colima is the capital of the State. It is located inland twenty-eight leagues east of the port of Manzanillo. The city is healthy, enjoys quite a large trade, and contains 31,774 inhabitants.

CHIAPAS.

Chiapas, situated at the southern extremity of the Republic, is bounded north by Tabasco and Yucatan, east by Guatemala, south by Guatemala and the Pacific, west by the Pacific, Oajaca, and Vera Cruz. The State is traversed throughout its entire length by the Sierra Madre mountains, three branches of which run nearly parallel, presenting a considerable depression in the south. The climate is agreeable and healthy. The country is diversified, and in many sections very beautiful, but Chiapas is one of those Mexican States which have not been fully explored.

The lands are very fertile, but agriculture languishes. The productions are corn, cocoa, sugar-cane, tobacco, vanilla, pimento, coffee, indigo of the finest quality, and tropical fruits in great variety. The forests of Chiapas supply in considerable abundance, cedar, mahogany, oak, ebony and other valuable woods. Medicinal herbs of the most desirable descriptions are also found.

Tradition gives to Chiapas rich mines of gold and silver. Recent explorations have also produced evidence of this fact. But at present no mines are worked in the State. Iron and lead abound in the vicinity of San Cristobal.

Salt is produced in great abundance at Tonala, on the Pacific coast, at the fountains or springs of Islopa and Zinacantan.

Transportation throughout the State is difficult for the want of roads or trails. It has no port on the Pacific, and its imports and exports are through the State of Tabasco on the Gulf.

The capital of the State is San Cristobal, which contains a population of 7,649.

Among the notable ancient ruins in Chiapas are those of Palenque, with the exception of those at Mitla, in the State of Oajaca, the most remarkable, perhaps, of any on this continent.

COAJUILA.

CoajUILa, is bounded north by Texas, east by Texas and Neuvo Leon, south by Neuvo Leon and Zacatecas, west by Durango and Chihuahua. This thinly inhabited and neglected State formed a part of the Mexican province of Texas, until, by victory in battle, the citizens of the latter made the Rio del Norte the dividing line between them and Mexico.

No branch of industry is flourishing in this State. There are some good agricultural lands, but they are quite limited in extent, and the production is at present confined to corn, wheat, and beans, sufficient merely to support the population. The vine flourishes, and is cultivated to some extent. The trade of the State is principally in horses, mules, corn, and wine.

The whole State lies on the western steppes of the Sierra Madre, but the southern part especially is very mountainous and broken. The climate, though not very equable, is healthy.

In other times the mining interests of this State were very important, but in common with the other northern frontier States, CoajUILa has suffered from the depredations of the Comanches, Lipans, and Apaches, to the ruin

even of this her greatest interest. At present no mines are worked in the State. The capital and principal town of the State is Saltillo, which contains 20,248 inhabitants. This place affords a good market for serapes, noted for their fineness of texture and beautiful colours, and which are made principally by the women of the neighbouring country.

There is also located in Saltillo, a cotton factory called the *Ibernia*. It has 1,300 spindles, 40 looms, uses 1,300 quintals of cotton annually, from which are turned out 11,520 pieces of common brown sheetings, called *manta*, valued at \$4.50 per piece. The raw cotton costs at the factory 10½d. per lb. The employés of the factory number 180; the annual wages amount to \$19,200. The total cost of the building and machinery was \$91,500.

Parras is a town of some importance. It contains 8,730 inhabitants. The place is celebrated for its grapes and wine. Monclova, Fernando de Rosas, and Beuna Vista are the other principal places of note in the State.

NEUVO LEON.

This State, which joins Coahuila on the south-east, is by the present constitution of the Republic united to that State. It is less mountainous than Coahuila, and more available for agricultural, mining, and trading purposes than that State. The proximity of Neuvo Leon to Brownsville in Texas, and Tampico on the Gulf, gives it some advantages in trade and commerce. The mines of silver, iron, copper, and lead, of which it is supposed there is an abundance, are in a virgin state, having been but little

worked. Nitrate of potash, alabaster and muriate of soda are also found in considerable quantities.

DURANGO.

Durango is bounded north by Chihuahua, east by Coahuila and Zacatecas, south by Zacatecas and Jalisco, west by Sinaloa. The main range of the great Cordilleras passes directly through the centre of the State, and to the west the country is thoroughly broken up by the chains and spurs of the Sierra Madre. The eastern slopes are less rugged, and much available land for agricultural purposes is found.

The climate is very healthy. In the mountainous districts the temperature is cool, though in the valleys great heat prevails during a part of the year.

The productions of the lands are principally corn, wheat and frijoles : sugar-cane, cotton, and coffee are produced in small quantities. Durango has one great source of wealth in horses, mules, sheep, and horned cattle, large quantities of which are raised annually. But the mines of this State must be its chief source of wealth. The iron ores of *Cerro del Mercado* are remarkable; they are of two distinct classes—crystallised and magnetic—and both contain from sixty to seventy-five per cent. of pure metal. Silver mines are abundant, but they have been improperly worked, and many districts remain entirely unexplored. The principal districts in which silver mines have been profitably worked are Gavalines, Guavisamey and San Dimas.

There are five cotton factories in this State, which turn

out in the aggregate 60,208 pieces of *manta*, or common brown cotton cloth, per annum, and give employment to 648 operatives.

The city of Durango is the capital, and contains 14,000 inhabitants.

The State of Durango stands among the first of the Mexican States, in the industry and intelligence of her people. More than usual attention is given to education; there are 16 public and 40 private schools, besides the college in the city of Durango.

This State, like those on the north of it, is partially impoverished by the hordes of savages who roam throughout all this region, making war upon life, property and civilisation.

There are important and interesting relics of antiquity in this State. In 1838, Don Juan Flores, proprietor of the estate San Juan de Costa, in the region of the *Bolson de Mapimi*, discovered an immense cavern in the mountain, around the walls of which were sitting more than a thousand Indian corpses in a state of perfect preservation, and clad in mantles woven of the fibres of the bastard aloe, which is indigenous in this region.

GUANAJUATO.

The small State of Guanajuato, situated in the heart of the Republic, is bounded north by San Luis Potosi, east by Queretaro, south by Michoacan, west by Jalisco.

Two unbroken chains of mountains run through the State; the one on the north is known as the *Sierra Gordo*, and that of the south as the *Sierra de Guanajuato*. The

fertile valleys among the Cordilleras help to give an agreeable and picturesque appearance to the country. The climate is healthy and the temperature agreeable. The agricultural productions of this State are considerable; they consist of corn, wheat, barley, frijoles, chile, sugar-cane, maguey,* which, with lumber for building, fruits, vegetables, medicinal herbs, &c., are estimated at the value of \$10,000,000 per annum.

Horses, mules, and horned cattle are raised in considerable numbers.

The mines of this State, principally silver, are celebrated for their antiquity, extent, and richness. The principal mining districts are Guanajuato, La Luz, Monte de San Nicolas, Santa Rosa, and Santa Anna, San Jose de Iturbide, San Luis de la Paz, Xichu and Atargea. For working the ores there are 32 haciendas, all of which work 1,030 arastras.

The amount of gold and silver coined in the mint of Guanajuato from 1827 to 1855 was \$124,896,504.

The capital of the State is the city of Guanajuato, the locality of which is peculiar and remarkable. It is situated in a deep and narrow valley, closely hemmed in by high and rugged mountains. On the east a stream rises, which in the time of rain swells to a torrent, and courses through the city among the houses, emptying itself into an arroyo on the west, which has its source among the mountains, in which are located the principal mines. The streets are very irregular and crooked, and there are but few through which carriages can pass. The plaza is also very irregular,

* Maguey is the Mexican name for the aloe.

there being scarcely a level spot in it. There are many fine houses, and some notable edifices, such as the *Alhondiga de Granaditas*, the church, the mint, the government palace, and the theatre. There is but one entrance to the city for vehicles, and that is called *La Cañada de Marfil*. The population of the city is 63,398.

GUERRERO.

This State lies on the Pacific Ocean, which bounds it on the south and west, on the north the States of Michoacan and Mexico, and on the east Puebla.

The vegetation of this state is varied and magnificent, numerous hills, ravines, bosques, and barrancas at short intervals, display, under a bright sun, a diversified and brilliant landscape, unsurpassed in the whole Republic. The climate is excessively hot and not very healthy. The productions of the earth are universally tropical.

The great wealth of the state of Guerrero, consists in its inexhaustible mineral resources.

In copper and iron this State is particularly rich, and excels any other in the Republic.

Recent explorations have demonstrated the existence of a copper district along the valley of the Zacatula River, upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in length, and embracing the region contiguous to the river for that distance, which, for richness, extent, and the desirable character of its ores, is probably not surpassed by any copper district in the world.

The occurrence of the ores and their characteristics are described to be the same as in the copper district of Chili ;

and the capacity of the Zacatula copper region is said to be fully equal to that of Chili, if equally developed, although from the latter there is now annually exported over \$10,000,000.

Recently, there have been discoveries of placers of gold, and it is thought that if they were fully developed they would equal in richness those of California.

There are no mining operations going on in this State.

But little can be said in favour of the inhabitants of Guerrero; they are mostly Indians of indolent habits, and but very little civilised. Of these there is a peculiar race known as *Pintos*. The peculiarity is that they are spotted all over with dingy, slate-coloured spots, the body being of a tawny, yellowish hue. The river Zacatula is the centre of the *Pinto* district.

Acapulco, a fine safe harbour on the Pacific, and famous in history, is in this State. Tixtla, or Ciudad de Guerrero, as it is sometimes called, is the capital of the state.

JALISCO.

Jalisco is bounded north by Zacatecas, Durango, and Sinaloa, east by Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Michoacan, south by Michoacan and Colima, and west by the Pacific Ocean. Jalisco is one of the largest and most important States in the Republic. The configuration of the country is varied, being mountainous in the centre, while on each side are extensive, beautiful, and fertile plains. The river Santiago waters an extensive district.

The climate is varied, being cold in Largos, La Barca and Colotlan, temperate in the regions of Guadalajara and

Ezatlan, hot in Autlan and Tepic, and variable in Sayula. The natural productions of this State are very numerous and the yield is extensive. They are corn, frijoles, barley, cotton, indigo, coffee, sugar-cane, vanilla, and tobacco. Of fruits there are bananas, plaintains, oranges, lemons, figs, chirimoyas, pine-apples, &c. There are forests of the red tree, cedar, pine, ash, mesquite, white wood, Brazil wood, ebony, &c.

Mining was formerly a great industrial pursuit in this State, but at the present time the greater portion of the mines are abandoned, and others are only worked on a small scale. The metals produced are gold, silver, copper, and iron. The most important mining districts are Bolanos, Comanja and Copala.

The total coinage of this State at the mint in Guadalajara, from 1848 to 1854, was \$4,027,490.

San Juan de los Lagos, a town of 6,000 inhabitants, is celebrated for the great annual fair held here from the 6th to the 13th of December. Visitors are attracted even from the most distant parts of the Republic, and the general gathering is very large.

Guadalajara is the capital of the State. It contains 68,000 inhabitants, and it is one of the most important cities in the Republic. The people are generally active and industrious. A large business in tanning hides is carried on here, and the manufacture of the best kind of saddles is extensive. Large quantities of rebosas are made in this city and sold throughout the Republic.

Tepic, containing 9,000 inhabitants, is situated in the north-west corner of the State, and has a pretty large trade.

San Blas, the only port, is on the Pacific, 17 leagues west of Tepic.

MICHOACAN.

This State is bounded on the north by Jalisco and Guanajuato, east by Mexico, south by Guerrero and the Pacific, west by Jalisco and Colima. It is one of the richest, most beautiful, and important States in the Mexican Republic. Formerly, the State of Guerrero, which lies on the Pacific, was included within the limits of Michoacan, the signification of which word, according to some interpretations, is 'country of fishermen.' The physical configuration of Michoacan is much diversified by mountains and plains. The main chain of the Cordilleras passes through the centre of the State, and yet there are gentle slopes, and beautiful, fertile plains, so numerous and extensive as to give the State great agricultural resources. This is, in fact, the leading branch of industry among the inhabitants. The temperature is varied, but the climate is quite healthy.

The agricultural productions are very numerous. In the district of Ario, the annual production of corn is estimated at 188,000 fanegas; frijoles, 1,420 do.; wheat, 270,300 lbs.; rice, 1,740,000 lbs.; chile, 3,000 arrobas; besides a large quantity of sugar and panocha. The indigo plant is extensively cultivated in this district, and the annual product is estimated at 1,200 arrobas. In the district of Patzcuaro the annual production of corn is estimated at 139,260 fanegas; frijoles, 728 do.; wheat, 4,087,500 lbs.; rice 336,000 lbs.; chile, 780 arrobas; sugar, 23,000 do.; panocha, 5,600 cargass.

In the State of Michoacan are several sections noted for their fruitfulness. Among these is the valley of 'Los Reyes,' which is devoted exclusively to the cultivation of sugar-cane and the Chinese mulberry-tree.

The raising of horses, mules and horned cattle is a great source of wealth in the districts of Ario, Patzcuaro and Jiquilpan.

In Morelia and Cuitzeo, coarse cotton and woollen fabrics are manufactured, but not in large quantities. In Zamora silk rebosos are made.

There are four flouring mills in the puebla of Jacona. and large quantities of aguardiente of maguey are distilled at Cotija and Sahuayo.

There are numerous and rich mining districts, but the inhabitants being mostly devoted to agriculture, the mining interest has, at the present time, but little attention. The principal metals are silver mixed with gold, silver mixed with copper, cinnabar, iron, lead, antimony, sulphur, &c.

Morelia is the capital of the State. It was founded in 1541, under the name of Valladolid, in honour of its founder, the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mendoza, who was born in Valladolid, Spain. In 1821, by a decree of the State, the name was changed to Morelia, in honour of the patriot chief, Morelos. This city contains 25,000 inhabitants.

MEXICO.

The State of Mexico, considered, from its industry, population, and wealth, the first in the Republic, is bounded, north by Vera Cruz and San Luis Potosi, east by Puebla, south by Guerrero, west by Queretaro and Michoacan. It

is divided into nine districts as follows: Huehulta, Tula, Tulancingo, Texcoco, Tlalnepantla, Toluca, Cuernavaca, Cuautla and Sultepec.

This State, in its peculiar topography and physical features generally; its mountains and volcanos; its lakes, plains and valleys; its charming views, varied and healthful climate; with its fertile soil, and abounding productions of every clime, presents, perhaps, the most interesting region of country in the world. At Cuernavaca, where a tropical sun brings forth tropical fruits, we see the peaks of Popocatepetl, and Iztaccihuatl, not more than sixty miles distant, covered with snow as eternal as the heavens above them. There is every variety of temperature in this State all the year round, from frigid cold to torrid heat, and the productions of the earth correspond with this variety of temperature. In the high mountains we have the forest trees of Canada, while at the base, the banana, the broad-leaf palm, the orange, fig, lemon, cocoa-nut and pine-apple abound. Corn and wheat grow on the hills and elevated plains, while sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, &c., are produced in the lower valleys.

In this inviting region, the conquering Spaniards first located in great numbers, and here commenced that system of plunder which has never ceased for more than three centuries, and which has sacrificed the blood and toil of millions of the aborigines of Mexico, and crushed out of their souls the last lingering spark of independence and hope of freedom.

The mines in this State are numerous and rich. The principal metals produced are gold, silver, lead, iron, and

copper; also alum, magistral, cinnabar, &c. The most important mining localities are as follows: In the districts of Tula, Zimapan, Moro, Pechucha, Cardonal, San Nicolas and Jacal. In the districts of Tulancingo, Pachuca, Real del Monte, Santa Rosa, Capula and Atotonilco. In the districts of Sultepec, Temascaltepec, and Zacualpan. Of all the places named, Pachuca is the most famous for its mines, principally that known by the name of *La Rosario*.

The industry of the inhabitants is employed in the mines, agriculture, cutting wood, and working in the same, weaving blankets, rebosos, handkerchiefs, cotton and woollen cloths; manufacturing aguardiente, sugar, panocha, lime, salt, hats, &c.

Toluka is the capital of the State. It contains 12,000 inhabitants.

OAJACA.

The State of Oajaca is bounded north by Puebla and Vera Cruz, east by Vera Cruz and Chiapas, south by the Pacific Ocean, west by Puebla. This State has a sea-coast on the Pacific of over three hundred miles, but throughout this entire extent of ocean boundary, there is no port open to foreign commerce, except Ventosa, the western terminus of the Tehuantepec route.

In its geological features, Oajaca is one of the most beautiful Mexican states, while the salubrity of its climate and the fertility of its soil render it one of the most inviting portions of the world. The great valley of Oajaca lies between the arms of the great Cordilleras, and here Cortez located his vast estate, conferred upon him, with the title of

marquis, by his royal master in Spain. A portion of the isthmus of Tehuantepec is within the limits of this State. There are extensive regions which appear to have been populated in ages past by a numerous people considerably advanced in civilisation. But these regions are now deserted and desolate. Such of the aborigines as remain at various points are well disposed, and under judicious management they could be made very serviceable in reclaiming the country.

Some of the most interesting antiquities of the western continent are to be found at Oajaca.

The palace or ancient tombs, at Mitla, are the most notable. These ancient ruins are situated near the village of Miguitle, and their sad and sombre environs are of the most impressive order.

Like other favoured portions of Mexico, the yield of agricultural productions of Oajaco, such as wheat and corn, with coffee, sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, tropical fruits, cocoa, vanilla, tobacco, cochineal, wax, honey, &c., is most abundant. The forests of rare and valuable woods are also extensive.

The indigo crop of the department of Tehuantepec is estimated at 500 ceroons, of 175 lbs. each, and that in the valley of Tonalá at 600 ceroons, of 175 lbs. each, making the whole indigo crop equal to 192,500 lbs. The price paid to planters is 62½c. to \$1 per lb.

The State of Oajaca is said to possess rich mines of gold and silver, but at present they form no source of wealth to the State. The city of Oajaca, capital of the State, contains 25,000 inhabitants.

PUEBLA.

The State of Puebla formerly extended entirely across the continent, the eastern boundary being the Gulf of Mexico, and the western the Pacific Ocean. But recently the limits of the State have been reduced, and its present outlines are extremely irregular. It is bounded on the north by Mexico, Tlaxcala, and Vera Cruz, east by Vera Cruz, south by Oajaca, Tlaxcala and Mexico.

This State is thoroughly diversified by mountains and table-lands. The former are the most grand and imposing in the Republic. Near the eastern border are the Pico de Orizaba and the Coffre de Perote. On the west are Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl. The Sierra de Malinche, near the city of Puebla, is also magnificent. The climate is for the most part temperate and very healthy. In the higher districts the weather is wintry.

The table-lands and valleys are remarkably fertile. They yield corn and wheat in great abundance. The State of Puebla is famous for the fine quality of its wheat, and such is the fertility of the soil in the district of Atlixco, that one bushel of wheat yields twenty-five bushels. Barley and frijoles are also extensively cultivated. Sugar-cane is produced to a moderate extent. No finer apples, pears, peaches, oranges, and many other varieties of Mexican fruits, can be found in the republic than those which fill the market of the city of Puebla. .

There are several rich mining districts in this State which produce a mixture of silver, gold, and copper, but at the present time they are not extensively worked. Five

haciendas, with arastras, ovens, and mortars, are now in operation.

The labouring classes of the State of Puebla (aborigines) are very industrious, and their productions are numerous and varied. The soap made in this State is the best in the country. There is also much earthen and crockery ware fabricated. At the time of the conquest by the Spaniards, these people were skilled in the fabrication of a species of earthenware, which, in its beauty of design, variety of colours, and quality of material, was considered equal to that of Florence.

The flour manufactured in this State is superior, and bears a high reputation throughout the neighbouring States.

The city of Puebla is the capital of the State, and contains 70,000 inhabitants. It is delightfully located on a plain, beautifully laid out, and altogether presents a peculiarly pleasing and inviting appearance. The climate is salubrious and healthy, the temperature being about the same as that of the city of Mexico. There are several cotton-factories in this vicinity, which turn out considerable quantities of brown cotton cloth.

The Indian town of Cholulu, with its ancient mound, or pyramid, is six miles west of the city of Puebla.

QUERETARO.

This State is bounded north by Guanajuato and San Luis Potosi, south and east by Mexico, west by Michoacan and Guanajuato. It is a small State, and lies entirely in the central plateau of the Cordilleras, and is consequently

intersected by numerous mountain spurs and elevated hills. The plains are frequently cut up by deep barrancas, rivers, and streamlets. The soil is very productive in the agricultural districts of San Juan del Rio, Queretaro, Cadereyta, Amealco, Toliman, and Jalpan.

Queretaro is remarkable for its picturesque scenery, and the beautiful sites of its cities, haciendas, and ranchos.

The products of the soil are similar to those of the other States on the central plateau. In the valleys some of the tropical productions are found, but grain and cattle are the chief resources of the landowners. In the whole State there are 124 haciendas, or plantations, and 392 ranchos, or farms. Very thick forests are seldom found, and many sections of the State are entirely bare of vegetation.

The only mining district of any note in this State is that of *El Doctor*, in the district of Cadereyta. These mines were once famous, but now they are considered of little consequence.

The industry of the inhabitants, after agriculture, consists principally in tanning leather, manufacturing cloths, kerseymeres, carpets, serapes, blankets, &c. The goods turned out by the looms in this State are considered the best in the Republic, and the articles above enumerated, form the principal commerce of the place.

The capital of the State is Queretaro, a well-built city of 50,000 inhabitants, picturesquely located on the summits and sides of converging hills, 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. A magnificent and enduring evidence of the munificence of the Viceroy, the Marquis de Valero del Aguila, is found in the noble aqueduct, two miles long,

with arches ninety feet high spanning a plain of meadow land, and joining by a tunnel from the opposite hills, supplying the city of Queretaro with excellent water from a distance of six miles.

SONORA.

Sonora is bounded on the north by Arizona, east by Chihuahua, south by Sinaloa and the Gulf of California, west by the Gulf of California.

The physical configuration of all this region of country is peculiar. Lofty, rugged, barren mountains, coursing in every direction across this State, rise abruptly out of barren plains. In proportion to its great area, the State of Sonora furnishes but little land fit for cultivation. The agricultural districts are confined to the valleys of the Yaqui, Mayo, Sonora, San Miguel, and San Ignacio rivers. The valley of the Yaqui is the most extensive and fertile. All the others are limited in extent, but they all produce abundance of the cereals and fruits, and in the aggregate Sonora would support a larger population than the casual observer might be inclined to believe.

The staple productions are wheat, corn, barley, and frijoles. The principal fruits are oranges, lemons, figs, grapes, and peaches. Sonora will eventually be a wine-producing country.

There is a great scarcity of timber in this State, and in some districts it is difficult even to obtain sufficient fuel for household purposes.

The raising of horses, mules, horned cattle and sheep, has always been one of the principal occupations of the inhabit-

ants. The breed of mules is very superior, but the horses and cattle are of an inferior order.

The mines of Sonora have a peculiar reputation — something bordering on the mysterious. The geological evidences of mines, as manifested on the surface, are abundant, more so, perhaps, than those of any other State in the Republic. Practical experience has also demonstrated the existence of silver mines of extraordinary richness. How enduring or extensive these veins may be, has not been thoroughly proved. The silver mines at Alamos, in the southern part of the State have been the most extensively worked, and they continue to yield abundantly. There are other mines of note, such as San Juan de Sonora, Bacuachi, Antunes, Babicanora, Batuco, Santa Theresa, Sahuaripa, La Trinidad, &c. There is but little attention paid to mining, however, in Sonora, at the present time. Mining in this region always was conducted in the most primitive style; generally speaking it has been but little more than surface scratching. When water is reached, or a depth that renders the labour more than ordinarily difficult and laborious, the mine is abandoned. For this and other reasons, a great many mines have been abandoned in Sonora. They are to be found all over the State. Silver is the principal metal sought after, though gold is found in considerable quantities in placers and quartz veins. Copper, lead, and iron, can be produced in great abundance.

This State has its good qualities, but it also has its drawbacks, which have not been duly estimated. One of the most necessary articles of life, *water*, is exceedingly scarce. Not an ear of corn, a spear of grain, or a fruit, can be pro-

duced without irrigation. A large portion of the best mining districts in the State are totally unavailable for the want of water. All branches of industry suffer from this want. The rainy season prevails during July, August, and September, but even then the rains are light and precarious; the clay strata are wanting, and the soil holds no water. The streams are *intermittent*, i.e., they appear and disappear throughout their courses at intervals. Travellers through the long and dreary wastes of this region, are in many instances dependent on the natural water-tanks in the mountains, called *tenajas*.

The population of the State, according to the Mexican estimate, is 147,000. This is doubtless above the truth. The inhabitants of Sonora, in honesty, industry and energy, may be considered superior to those of any other State of the Republic. As labourers, the Opata, Yaqui and Papago Indians, with the mixed breeds, are well adapted to the peculiar necessities of the country in developing its resources.

But Sonora is a land of mourning. Apaches, revolutions and filibuster expeditions have scourged the people. Mines, haciendas, and ranchos, in great numbers, are abandoned, and the industry of the State is completely paralysed.

Hermosillo, a city of 10,000 inhabitants, beautifully located in the interior, is the capital.

Guaymas, the only port, is located on the Gulf of California, and contains about 5,000 inhabitants. The harbour of Guaymas is very good, and before many years it will be of great commercial importance.

SINALOA.

Sinaloa is bounded, north by Sonora, east by Chihuahua and Durango, south and west by the Pacific Ocean. This State comprehends a strip of country lying between the grand Cordilleras of the Sierra Madre and the Pacific Ocean. The eastern section is very mountainous, while the portion bordering on the Pacific is a series of plains, watered by the rivers Fuerte, Sinaloa, Culiacan, Piaxtla, &c. The climate is generally hot. The natural productions of the soil are numerous and abundant. They consist of corn, frijoles, coffee, rice, sugar-cane, tobacco, plantains, oranges, and pine-apples; Brazil and other fine woods, in considerable quantities, are exported from the port of Mazatlan. In 1854, 82,000 quintals were exported.

Sinaloa is likewise famous for its mines, especially of silver. In the *Mineral del Rosario*, which pertains to the district of Mazatlan, there exist mines of gold, silver, platina, copper, lead, verdigris, &c. At the present time the mines of silver and gold in this district are only worked to a moderate extent. There are other sections of the State noted for rich mines. In Culiacan, there is a mint which from 1846 to 1855, coined in silver and gold the sum of \$9,252,763. Culiacan, the capital of the State, contains 10,000 inhabitants.

Mazatlan is the only port. It has improved considerably of late years, which is more than can be said of any other town in the Republic of Mexico. The harbour is not very good, but the location commands the trade of an extensive back country.

SAN LUIS POTOSI.

This State is bounded north by Zacatecas, Coajuela and Tamaulipas; east by Coajuela and Tamaulipas; south by Queretaro, Guanajuata and Zacatecas; west by Zacatecas. The western portion of the State is very mountainous, but the Cordillera is somewhat broken toward Tamaulipas, and a low, hilly country, which is not very healthy, stretches out toward the south-east.

Agriculture forms one of the principal branches of industry, and an abundant yield is obtained of corn, wheat, barley, frijoles, &c. The raising of horses, mules and cattle, as in Durango and Chihuahua, is followed extensively. Considerable attention is given to the manufacture of woollen and cotton fabrics. Glass, leather, pottery and metallic wares are also made in large quantities, and a valuable traffic is carried on in foreign goods with the port of Tampico and the neighbouring States, as San Luis Potosi; the capital and chief town of the State, is favourably located for this kind of business.

This State has its full share of the various kinds of mines that abound in other States of the Republic. The *mineral* of Catorce is one of the most famous in the whole country. The town of Catorce is situated upon the top of a bleak and rugged mountain, 8,788 feet above the level of the sea. The mines are of silver. The mine of San Augustin gave metals that yielded \$1,000 to the carga (300 lbs.). The mine of Señor Zavala produced a species of earth worth \$1 per pound, and \$7,000,000 were obtained from it. The mines of San Geronimo and Santa Anna have produced

\$6,000,000; La Luz, during the last year it was worked, \$2,000,000; Medellin, more than \$4,000,000. According to Humboldt, the *Mineral del Catorce* has produced, one year with another, three to four millions of dollars.

San Luis, the capital of the State, contains 35,000 inhabitants. The mint located here, coined, in 1855, \$1,849,794.

TLASCALA.

The small State of Tlascala forms a notch in the State of Puebla, which surrounds it on every side except the west, where the State of Mexico forms the boundary.

No portion of the Mexican confederacy has a more interesting history than that of Tlascala. The Spaniards, on their arrival, found it an independent Republic, and bidding defiance to the power of Montezuma. In obedience to their instinctive hatred of that monarch and his people, the Tlascalans joined Cortes, and took an important part in the conquest of Mexico. Indeed, without their powerful aid, Cortes would not have been successful.

In remembrance of the assistance thus furnished by the Tlascalans, the Spaniards erected their country into a distinct province, with certain privileges, and it thus remained until 1824, since which period it has been district, territory and state, the latter degree having been conferred by the constitution under Comonfort.

Tlascala comprehends a superficial extent of 400 square leagues. It contains 1 city, 109 villages, 18 settlements, 168 haciendas, 94 ranchos or small farms, 8 grist-mills, 2 iron-works, and 1 woollen factory. The climate is salu-

brious and healthy. The country is diversified with mountains, table-lands, and valleys. The Sierra de la Malintzin, which is very high, has a particularly sacred place in Tlascalteca mythology, and there is upon its crest, when viewed from a certain position, that which resembles a human body lying in sepulture and partially covered with a shroud. At times, the clouds, illuminated with electricity, hang over this mountain, adding much to the impressive grandeur of the scene.

The numerous relics of antiquity found in this State are very interesting.

The cereals are principally cultivated, though, in the valleys the products of hot countries are found. Mines of silver, copper and lead are moderately worked.

The ancient town of Tlascala is the capital. There are but 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants remaining within its ancient limits.

TAMAULIPAS.

The State of Tamaulipas, called in the time of the Spaniards, the province of New Santander, extends from 22° 14' 4" to 27° 30' N. lat., and from long. 1° 39' 3", to long. 2° E. of Mexico.

Its limits are, on the north, the United States (the Rio Bravo forming the boundary line); on the north-west, the departments of Coahuila and Neuvo Leon; on the west and south-west, San Luis Potosi; on the south Vera Cruz, and, on the east the Gulf of Mexico.

Tamaulipas produces cotton, rice, sugar-cane, corn, frijoles, barley, sweet potatoes, &c., also tropical fruits

in abundance. Vanilla is very extensively cultivated by the French colony about half-way between Tampico and Vera Cruz.

Horses, mules and cattle are raised in great numbers, and driven to different parts of the Republic for sale.

Of late years the mining interest has been almost entirely abandoned, and few mines are at present being worked. In San Nicolas there are twenty-five abandoned mines, and four in operation. The product of these, one year with another, is 200 marks of silver and 20,000 pounds of lead. The average value of a mark of silver is \$8.50.

In Mizachuana are four abandoned mines, in one of which is found alabaster.

In Bustamente are twelve abandoned mines — eight of silver, one of copper, and three of lead.

It is supposed that the silver mines are very rich, from the amount of the tithes or duties paid to the Spanish crown formerly.

In Villagrau are abandoned mines of gold and silver. Not far from this place are found seams of coal, which have never been worked.

Near Tampico is found very transparent alabaster, also jasper, and, at a short distance, slate in great abundance.

Extensive salt works are found near Soto La Marina, both natural and artificial, from which there are generally taken out about ten thousand cargass yearly—3,000,000 lbs.

The residue of the trade at the port of Tampico during 1856, was distributed between Sardinia, Hamburg, Holland, and the city of Mexico.

With the certainty of a weekly steamer from an American

port, instead of the casual communication which now exists, the principal amount of trade represented by the above figures will be diverted in that direction, and Tampico will soon be able to export, in exchange, the numerous productions and wealth of that vast interior, and supply the wants of her inhabitants with importations from the United States. Its increased activity, therefore, only depends upon the additional facilities that will be afforded by regular and frequent steam communication.

Tampico is the second port in point of commercial importance on the Gulf of Mexico, not only from the great natural resources of the State of Tamaulipas, to which it belongs, but from the fact that it is the principal port of egress and ingress for the trade of several of the richest states of the Republic in their mineral and agricultural productions. It is supported by the trade of San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Nuevo Leon, Jalisco, &c., forming an immense back country, sufficient to build up and make Tampico eventually a great commercial city. From that section of the country are despatched the large *conductas* of specie to Tampico for shipment to Europe by the English steam-packet.

The port and city of Matamoras, comprehended within the jurisdiction of the State of Tamaulipas, are situated on the right bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte, in latitude $25^{\circ} 53' 2''$ N., and longitude $1^{\circ} 32' 28''$ east of the meridian of Mexico, and contains 11,233 inhabitants.

Matamoras is situated on the Rio Grande, opposite Brownsville in Texas, and a few miles above Brazos de Santiago, at which place the United States and Mexican mail steamers will touch.

TABASCO.

The State of Tabasco is situated between $16^{\circ} 50'$ and $18^{\circ} 39'$ N. latitude, and $5^{\circ} 11'$ and $7^{\circ} 10'$ longitude E. from Mexico.

Its limits are, on the north the Gulf of Mexico, which washes the coast a distance of ninety-six miles; on the east Yucatan; on the south Chiapas, and on the west the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

The State at present (besides rice, maize, and frijoles, which are extensively cultivated), furnishes nearly the whole of the Republic with cocoa, out of which the universal chocolate is made. From the latest dates relative to the cocoa trade in this State, the annual production amounts to 8,000 bales, which, at 200 pounds to the bale, gives a total of 1,600,000. At the average price of 1s. 3d. per pound, this yields an income of \$480,000 per annum. Judging from the progressive increase of demand and production, the amount will, in a few years, reach 30,000 or 40,000 bales.

Tabasco yields tropical productions in abundance. Coffee, sugar-cane, pepper, tamarinds, arrow-root, palmetto, cotton, tobacco, &c., are cultivated. Indigo and vanilla grow wild in the forests, which abound in mahogany, iron-wood, cedar, and caoutchouc.

The tobacco grown here is celebrated for its fine flavour, and with a little more skill in cultivation and drying might compete with that of Havana.

Dye-woods of various descriptions are also produced and shipped in large quantities from this State, particularly the logwood — *palo de tinte*.

The soil and climate of Tabasco are peculiarly adapted to the sugar-cane, and although it has not been very extensively cultivated until within the last four or five years, the inhabitants are beginning to exhibit such zeal and activity in its production, that a most rapid annual augmentation must take place in the manufacture of sugar.

In addition to the articles enumerated are many others, of no less importance, produced in this State, that might be mentioned.

Tabasco is particularly favoured by nature, as well for the natural facilities of internal communication, as for her great agricultural resources. In the former, she is probably superior to any section of territory of the same extent on the American continent. She possesses many fine navigable rivers—in fact, the whole territory is traversed by those great natural highways—extending far into the adjoining departments, which are only awaiting the necessary spirit of enterprise on the part of the inhabitants to complete the developement of her vast fields of natural resources, commercial wealth, and national prosperity.

San Juan Bautista is not much inferior to Tampico in point of situation and other commercial advantages; for, beside being the commercial depôt of the whole State of Tabasco and Chiapas, it enjoys a large trade with Oaxaca, Tehuantepec, Yucatan, &c., which will be greatly increased if the people can once be awakened to the importance of turning to account the great advantages and facilities offered them by nature for the exchange of commercial intercourse with those places and Europe. The principal

foreign trade is at present carried on between Tabasco and Havana.

The principal towns are: 1. San Juan Bautista, capital of the State, is situated on the left bank of the river Grijalva, in $17^{\circ} 40'$ N. latitude, and $1^{\circ} 4' 46''$ longitude E. of the city of Mexico; 621 miles from Mexico; population 5,500.

2. Conduacan, on the river of the same name; population 3,220.

3. Santiago de Teapa, population 1,346.

4. Macuspana, population 700.

The bar of Tabasco consists of two channels or entrances. The north-east channel is situated between the Point of Barlovento and the island of Buey Chico. It is 1,500 yards wide, with about nine feet water on the bar.

In the other channel, between the Buey Chico and an island (name unknown), there is about eight feet water. Both channels have a sandy bottom.

At a distance of 42 miles along the coast is the bar of Chiltepec; the channel is 600 yards wide, and eight feet deep. Four and a half miles from the bar of Chiltepec is that of Dos Bocas, with a depth of eleven feet. Following the coast from Dos Bocas, we come, at a distance of 21 miles, to the bar of Cupiles, the width of which is 600 yards, and having a depth of four feet water. Large canoes can ascend as far as San Antonia, a distance of 90 miles. At a distance of 51 miles we come to La Barra de Santa Anna, which has a channel 600 yards wide, with ten feet of water. Inside is a lagoon or lake, 18 miles long.

STATE OF VERA CRUZ.

This large and important State, second only to the State of Mexico, lies on the Gulf of Mexico, by which it is bounded on the north; east by the Gulf, Tabasco, and Chiapas; south and west by Oajaca, Puebla, Mexico, and Queretaro.

This State extends along the Gulf 166 leagues, and its breadth is from twenty-five to twenty-eight leagues. The section of country embraced within the limits of the State of Vera Cruz may be considered the most remarkable in the entire Republic — remarkable for its extremes of temperature, its fertility of soil, its variety of productions, its varied scenery and undeveloped riches. On the coast the heat is intense. This is tempered, however, from November till April by the *northers*, and the climate is much more salubrious than it is generally reported to be. In the interior the temperature is hot until you reach the range of high mountains on the western borders of the State. The change from tropical to temperate, and from temperate to frigid, is sudden: all these changes occurring within a distance of sixty to seventy miles. The districts comprehended by these different climates, are inhabited by people whose temperament, habits, labours, and productions, of course conform to the climate in which they live.

It is impossible to give a full and accurate of this rich and varied State. It produces tobacco, coffee, sugar, cotton, corn, barley, wheat, jalap, sarsaparilla, vanilla, pine-apples, oranges, citrons, lemons, pomegranates, zapotes, bananas, chirimoyas, aguacatis, tunas, pears, water-melons,

peaches, apricots, guyavas, grapes, mahogany, ebony, cedar, oak, dragon-blood, tamarinds, palms, dye-woods, ash, fir, besides rare and beautiful woods, plants, shrubs, flowers, and cereals, which spring almost spontaneously from the soil. In the neighbourhood of San Andres Tuxtla, and throughout the southern portion of the State, there are vast regions of unoccupied country, where the climate is salubrious, and the virgin soil far excels that of the Mississippi. The Indian clears a small patch of land, makes holes in the ground with a stick, drops in the kernels of corn, and when he plucks the ears, ninety days from the time of planting, his labours are over. In this process, no reference need be had to seasons. Everything grows all the year round.

Vera Cruz, capital of the State and district bearing the same name, is situated in latitude $19^{\circ} 11' N.$, and $20^{\circ} 50' E.$ of the city of Mexico, and is the most important port in the country, both from its commerce, and from the fact of its being the door of the Republic to the whole western world.

The city is lighted with gas, and will soon be provided with excellent water, brought from the river Jamapa, about ten miles distant, for which the necessary works are already in course of construction, and, when completed, there are well-founded hopes of its becoming one of the most healthy cities in the tropics.

Vera Cruz is, perhaps, after Mexico, one of the most picturesque cities in the Spanish Americas, from the elegant construction of its houses and the beauty of its public buildings. Its population is about 10,500.

Orizaba, capital of the district of the same name, is situated in $18^{\circ} 50'$ N. latitude, and $2^{\circ} 1' 42''$ longitude E. of Mexico, at 1,450 feet elevation above the level of the sea. Its distance from Vera Cruz is 82 miles, and from Mexico about 180 miles. From its elevation and the neighbourhood of the extinct volcano of Orizaba or 'Sitlaltepetl,' covered with eternal snow, the climate is delightful and entirely free from the scorching heats of 'Tierra Caliente.' It is remarkable for its forests of orange-trees and its excellent coffee, the best of which, called 'Caracolillo,' is fully equal to Mocha.

It contains many sugar and flour-mills, and its population is 37,695. '.

Jalapa is at a distance of 72 miles from Vera Cruz, to the inhabitants of which it forms a summer resort, particularly when the seven leagues of the railway leading to it (and which is probably to be continued on to Mexico) are finished. It is called by the inhabitants 'a piece of heaven dropped on earth;' and well does it merit the title, both on account of its lovely scenery and its fragrant flowers.

Medellin, about ten miles from Vera Cruz, is a large village, where most of the merchants of Vera Cruz have country houses; and twice a year gambling *saturnalia* take place here, which continue about four weeks, affording remarkable glimpses of national customs to the stranger.

Lower down the coast we have Alvarado, at the entrance to two large rivers, the San Juan and the Rio Blanco, which are navigable to between 150 and 180 miles, and afford mahogany in abundance, and various other products.

THE ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC.

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec deserves special notice. The territory of the Isthmus proper lies between $16^{\circ} 5'$ and $18^{\circ} 21'$ N. latitude, and $3^{\circ} 53'$ and $50^{\circ} 30'$ longitude E. from the city of Mexico. It comprises a part of the States of Vera Cruz, Oajaca, Tabasco, and Chiapas. Its northern limit is the Gulf of Mexico, and its southern the Pacific Ocean. All the agricultural productions and fruits found in the States above named, except a few that belong to the cold regions, are produced in the greatest abundance throughout the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. It is perhaps one of the richest agricultural districts in the Republic.

In addition to its agricultural products there are rare and valuable woods of the greatest variety and abundance; mahogany, Brazil-wood, logwood, india-rubber, &c., now form the principal exports.

The principal river is the Coatzacoalcos, which is navigable for a distance of some seventy or eighty miles above its mouth.

The port of Coatzacoalcos is situated on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river, and is easy of access by vessels drawing eleven to twelve feet of water.

Minatitlan is situated on the Coatzacoalcos, twenty miles from its mouth. Vessels crossing the bar at the mouth of the river can reach this place without difficulty.

YUCATAN.

Columbus, in his first three voyages, did not reach the continent of America, but on his fourth ill-fated and final

expedition, after sixty days' tempestuous weather, he discovered a small island, supposed to be that now called in the charts *Bonaca*. While on shore in this island, he saw coming from the west a canoe of large size filled with Indians, who appeared to be a more civilised people than any he had yet encountered. In return to the enquiries of the Spaniards for gold, they pointed toward the west, and endeavoured to persuade them to steer in that direction. 'Well would it have been for Columbus,' says Mr. Irving, 'had he followed their advice. Within a day or two he would have arrived at Yucatan; the discovery of Mexico and the other opulent countries of New Spain would have followed; the Southern Ocean would have been disclosed to him, and a succession of splendid discoveries would have shed fresh glories on his declining age, instead of its sinking amidst gloom, neglect, and disappointment.'

Four years afterward, Juan Diaz de Solis held the same course to the island of Bonaca, and then steering to the west, discovered the east coast of Yucatan.

From the time of the conquest, Yucatan existed as a distinct captain-generalcy, not connected with Guatemala nor subject to the Viceroy of Mexico. So it continued down to the Mexican revolution.

The independence of Yucatan followed that of Mexico without any struggle, and actually by default of the mother-country in not attempting to keep it in subjection.

Before the conquest, one language, called the *Máya*, extended throughout the whole peninsula, and the whole land of Maya was united under one head or supreme lord.

This great chief had for the seat of his monarchy a very populous city called Mayapan, and had under him a great many other lords, or caciques, who were bound to pay him tribute and serve him in war.

These lords, too, had under them cities and many vassals. Becoming proud and ambitious, they rebelled against the power of the supreme lord, and besieged and destroyed the city of Mayapan.

This took place about one hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, and may perhaps account, more or less, for the origin of the mysterious palaces buried deep in the solitudes of Yucatan.

The State of Yucatan is situated between latitude $17^{\circ} 40'$ and $21^{\circ} 37'$ N. and longitude $6^{\circ} 33'$ and $12^{\circ} 28'$ E. of the city of Mexico. Its shores are washed on the west and north by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east by the sea of the Antilles; on the south it is bordered by Central America, and by the English territory of the Belize, of which the boundary is the Rio Hondo, or Deep River. On the south-west is the former territory of Carmen, which has been divided between Yucatan and Tabasco.

Two depressed chains of mountains traverse the State, but in the main it is a level country, and generally covered with rank vegetation. Either wild or cultivated Yucatan offers a peculiarly fine field to the explorer, and here are found some of the most curious and stupendous relics of the ancient inhabitants. Stephens and Catherwood obtained the most interesting material for their publications in this State. There are extensive regions yet unexplored by white men.

Mining has never formed a branch of industry among the present race of inhabitants. There are traditions pointing to the existence of gold and silver mines in the State, but there is no disposition evinced to discover and work them.

Salt is obtained on the island of the Mujeres. The island of Cozumel on the east coast — which was the first land discovered by the Spaniards on their voyage to Mexico — is now almost uninhabited.

Yucatan has four large cities in the interior, viz. —

1. Merida, capital of the State, is situated in the centre of a spacious plain, at an elevation of twenty-four feet above the level of the sea, the breezes of which maintain a cool and pleasant temperature.

Its population is 23,575, and its distance from Mexico 1,005 miles, and from Sisal 28 miles.

2. Valladolid, at a distance of 94 miles from Merida, and 135 from Campeche, with a population of 2,389 inhabitants.

3. Izamal, 39 miles from Merida, has a population of 4,797 inhabitants.

4. Tekax, 57 miles from Merida, with a population of 4,348 inhabitants.

The most important ports are Sisal and Campeche. Sisal is in $21^{\circ} 10'$ N. latitude, and $9^{\circ} 6'$ longitude E. of Mexico ; population 942.

Campeche, the most important of the two, is situated on the west coast of Yucatan, and contains a population of 15,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom are connected with the logwood trade, of which is estimated that 650,000

quintals are exported annually, whilst the value of other articles of merchandise by the way of the English territory of Belize, amounts annually to \$2,110,000.

Besides the articles above mentioned, there is an extensive production of cotton, tobacco, gum-copal, indigo, &c., of which large amounts are exported. Of course these products might be doubled or trebled if the inhabitants would be at the pains of making good roads, which might be formed at small expense, from the level nature of the country, in many places only requiring the undergrowth to be cut down to admit the passage of mule trains.

From the fact of there being no swamps, the climate, although hot, is uniformly healthy.

The port of Carmen (Laguna de Terminos) may be considered as the best port in the Mexican part of the Gulf. Its entrance is by a wide-spread bar of soft mud; the depth of water at low tide is thirteen feet, and fifteen at high tide. After passing the bar, vessels go to anchor near the island where the city of Carmen stands, and there the depth of water is from four to six fathoms. Vessels are sheltered in this port from all winds, and only a westerly hurricane can endanger the security of their anchorage.

The city of Carmen has about 5,000 inhabitants; its aspect from the port is very picturesque and beautiful. Mariners, on their entering, may be guided by a fine fixed light in the Indian village opposite the place, which light can be seen fourteen miles at sea. The principal commerce of this town consists in the extraction of logwood, the annual exportation of which is from 400,000 to 600,000

quintals. The price generally ranges from 75 cents to \$1.25, according to the demand, or the great or small supply in the market.

The logwood is carried to Carmen in canoes of from 400 to 1,000 quintals burden, from Tabancuy, Chiboja, Candelaria, Chumpan, the ranchos of the East, Palisada, and principally from all the ranchos on the river Usumacinta, passing through Palisada. The interior of the country is generally swampy, and its greatest production to this day is logwood. There is also in the interior of the country a large quantity of cedar, mahogany, and divers other kinds of fine and valuable timber, especially for ship-building; but, until now, they have not been an object of great extraction or exportation.

There are at present ten or twelve establishments for the elaboration of sugar and *aguardiente* (sugar-cane rum), and with time these articles may be produced in abundance for exportation.

ZACATECAS.

Zacatecas, one of the central States of Mexico, is bounded, north by Durango, Coahuila and Nuevo Leon; east by San Luis Potosi and Aguas Calientes; south by Guanajuato, Aguas Calientes and Jalisco; west by Jalisco and Durango. The boundaries of this State are the most irregular of any in the confederacy. The mountains and peaks, more or less elevated which occupy the greater portion of the State, are a prolongation of the Sierra Madre, and the gradual descent of these gives, in the lower part of the State, spacious valleys and fertile fields, deep barrancas and *cañones*, all of which

form imposing and picturesque scenery. The agricultural districts are not extensive, yet the fertility of those under cultivation is such that the products of the soil form a great source of wealth. The forests afford an abundance of red and white oak, sycamore, ash, white wood, mezquites and all classes of pine. The principal fruits are of the temperate regions, such as apples, pears, peaches, quinces, grapes, strawberries, &c.

In its *mineria*, the State of Zacatecas has at various epochs ranked first in the Republic. This State and Guanajuato have for years been rivals in the richness of their veins and the *buena ley* of their metals, each claiming preeminence, and alternately standing first and second in the quantity of the precious metals produced. The amount yielded in Zacatecas varies with the causes that affect the industry of the inhabitants.

The three silver-mining districts of Zacatecas, Fresnillo and Sombrerete are the most celebrated in the Republic.

The Zacatecas mines were discovered in 1546, by Captain Juan de Tolosa.

TERRITORY OF LOWER CALIFORNIA.

This territory is comprehended in that long, peninsular strip of land lying between the southern boundary of the United States and Cape St. Lucas. On the east is the Gulf of California, and on the west the Pacific Ocean. The peninsula is 700 miles long, and varies in breadth from 30 to 100 miles. It may be said that the entire peninsula is occupied by a chain of high, rugged and barren mountains,

leaving a nook, corner, or small valley here and there for fruits and agricultural products sufficient to support a sparse population. The rocks and arid plains, which reflect the rays of the sun, seldom obscured by clouds, would render the heat almost insufferable, but for the sea air, which, in breezes sometimes strong and sometimes mild, sweeps over the territory, rendering the climate in the habitable portions the most salubrious and healthy in the world.

The agricultural products are limited, and consist chiefly of corn, frijoles, sweet potatoes and chile, with olives, grapes, dates, figs, quinces, peaches and pears. But the waters that surround the peninsula have been more profitable to the inhabitants than the land. The pearl-fisheries have long been prosecuted and with great success. In the sixteenth century the pearl-fishery produced a valuable revenue, and towards its close, six hundred and ninety-seven pounds of the precious article were exported from this quarter to Spain. Of late years but little interest is manifested in this branch of industry. A beautiful quality of tortoise-shell is also exported from this territory.

The raising of cattle is one of the principal sources of wealth, and dried beef and hides enter largely into the articles of export.

But the chief wealth of this territory will eventually be found in the mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, &c., which are known to exist in great extent and richness. The whole country is volcanic, and the metalliferous manifestations are too plain to be mistaken. The people have no enterprise, and their government is so unsafe and uncertain, that men of enterprise and capital do not care, under the

present order of things, to invest their labour and means in the territory. There are several good harbours on the Gulf and ocean shores. That of Magdalena Bay, on the Pacific side, is frequently resorted to by whalers, and it would be very valuable to foreign commerce. Fish, shell-fish and water-fowl of the finest qualities are excessively abundant. In some respects, the peninsula of Lower California and its adjoining waters have a higher value than is generally placed upon them.

La Paz is the capital and principal port of the territory. It is situated on the Gulf, near the southern extremity. It has an excellent harbour, and enjoys a delightful climate. population, 1,274. The population of the entire territory is but 9,000.

DISTRICT OF MEXICO.

What is known as the district or valley of Mexico is limited on the north by San Cristobal Ecatepec, east by El Piñon Viejo, south by Tlalpam, and west by Los Remedios.

The valley is oval in its outline, eighteen leagues long and twelve wide. It is surrounded by mountains, in which abound the *tezontle*, porphyry, basalt, obsidian, and various species of lava. It is generally believed that the entire valley of Mexico is one enormous crater of an ancient volcano, covered over by a crust of earth of recent formation.

The highest of these mountains are called Talapon and Ajusco.

Nothing of the metallic or granitic order is found in this

district. Vegetation is vigorous and varied, and the mountains present phenomena truly extraordinary.

The surrounding mountains yield an abundance of timber, especially pine, and various woods for building and manufacturing purposes. The valley is exceedingly fertile, producing corn, wheat, barley, frijoles, &c.; fine fruits—pears, perones, apples, peaches, figs, nuts, mulberries, cherries, chestnuts, zapotes, aguacates, and some of the tropical fruits, such as oranges, lemons, and chirimoyas. Vegetables flourish all the year in this climate, which is, in fact, a perpetual spring.

The larger portion of the inhabitants, except those of the city of Mexico, are engaged in agriculture. Many are employed in the manufacture of crockery-ware, silk, woollen and cotton goods, paper, beer, soap, liquors, oil, iron, &c.

There are two establishments for the manufacture of fine crockery-ware, one at Tacubaya and one in the city of Mexico. There are four manufactories of paper located a short distance from the city.

The city is on a perfect level, but its plan is somewhat irregular. Length from north to south, 4,018 yards; breadth from east to west 3,276. There are 252 squares or blocks of buildings, 316 streets, 140 small irregular streets, 12 bridges, and 90 plazas, great and small. The population is estimated at 200,000. The foundation of this city by the Aztecs dates 1160, and it bore the name of Tenochtitlan. Cortes and his followers conquered and destroyed it in 1521, at which time it may have contained 50,000 to 60,000 souls, though Munchausen accounts would make it appear that a million

and a half of human beings swarmed about this locality. The official report of Cortes in 1524, three years after the conquest, gives 30,000 as the population of the new city of Mexico. For a century the city continued to increase in numbers, wealth, and power, so that when Captain John Smith and his followers were looking for gold mines in Virginia, and the Pilgrims were planting corn in Massachusetts, an empire had been founded and built up on the same continent by Spaniards, and the most stupendous system of plunder the world ever saw was then and there in vigorous operation.

The capital of the Republic has made but little progress since it became independent of Spain. In general terms, it may be said that the inauguration of the Republic brought no peace or prosperity to the country, or materially advanced the interests of the city of Mexico.

A glance at the map will convince any one that the geographical position of the city of Mexico is highly important and advantageous. It is in the centre of a country of surpassing richness and beauty. But the history of this capital, from the day of its foundation by the Aztecs, precisely seven centuries ago, is one of constant revolution and warfare. No earthly record worthy of credence excels it. From first to last it has been the stronghold of political dissensions and bloodshed. At the present moment, the struggle between the progressive ideas of the masses and the determined bigotry and despotism of the priesthood and their followers, is going on as fiercely as ever.

Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821, and the federal compact upon which she presented herself before the world as a republic, was made in 1824. Here we come to the most important chapter in the modern history of Mexico.

So long as Spain ruled Mexico, the Mexican Church communicated with the Church in Spain, and not with the See of Rome. It was several years subsequent to the independence of Mexico before the Pope ventured to officially recognise the Mexican Church, and despatch his Nuncio to the incipient republic. Under the new order of things, the concentration of ecclesiastical power in the city of Mexico became greater than ever. New and more vigorous manifestations of the greed and lust of the clergy appeared, and they wielded their despotic power with increased force and effect. The superstitious feelings of the people were alone cultivated; the sale of indulgences, great and small, of holy bits of paper, ribbon, gold, &c. &c., was increased. The enormous fees demanded and enforced for the marriage ceremony, caused thousands and tens of thousands of men and women to cohabit together under no legal form or ceremony. The cost of the burial service was made so great as to require a poor man to labour for years in order to secure that priestly adieu to his body on earth, which, according to their creed, would insure his blissful resurrection in heaven. The clergy have held a preponderating influence in all civil as well as religious matters. They caused to be established, for their benefit, what are known as *fueros*, or special privileges, by which they are constituted a religious hierarchy

and a moneyed oligarchy, managing their vast property and all their affairs, both secular and ecclesiastical, without being amenable to any law of the land. The Mexican Church held over one hundred millions of real estate, and mortgages innumerable on real property, of which there is no public record, and on which no taxes are paid.

The Mexican Church, as a church, fills no mission of virtue, no mission of morality, no mission of mercy, no mission of charity. Virtue cannot exist in its pestiferous atmosphere; the code of morality does not come within its practice; it knows no mercy, and no emotion of charity ever moves the stony heart of that priesthood which, with an avarice that has no limit, filches the last penny from the diseased and dying beggar, plunders the widows and orphans of their substance, as well as their virtue, and casts such a horoscope of horrors around the death-bed of the dying millionaire, that the poor, superstitious wretch is glad to purchase a chance for the safety of his soul by making the church heir to his treasures.

It is only necessary to point to the universal ruin and misery its rule has brought upon the country and the people. What nation on earth, I ask, could live and prosper under such a horrible incubus as this? The Mexican Church always has been, and so long as it exists, always will be the great element of evil in Mexico, and there will be no peace, prosperity, or progress in the country until this church is overthrown and totally destroyed, root and branch.

The federal states of Mexico started, on their political course under the name of a republic, and with some of

the forms of a democratic government, in 1824, with Victoria as President. The leading foreign powers, except Spain, recognised the new republic, and despatched their ambassadors thither; and the advocates of freedom throughout the world indulged in a hope for Mexico. Victoria served out the presidential term of four years. It was the first and last term ever filled to the end by any one of the incumbents of the office of president of the republic of Mexico. During the term of Victoria, and some three or four years subsequent, all those evils that have so afflicted the masses of the Mexican people, and given the republic such a bad name, took their distinct form and purpose. Then appeared the old Spanish leaven of iniquity, as developed by what remained of Gachupin capitalists and traders scattered throughout the country, with their bitter hatred of the Mexican race. Then arose a desperate and unprincipled host of conspirators against Mexican liberty, of the Spanish school of intrigue, backed by a thoroughly demoralised band of army officers without pay or occupation; and in 1826 the furious civil strife between the parties known as Escoceses and Yorkinos, names of Masonic lodges, broke out in the city of Mexico.

The new-fledged republic succeeded in effecting a loan of \$32,000,000 in England; and this, with the heavy investments of English capital in mining and trading enterprises, which took place in the early days of the republic, gave to British diplomacy an influence in the affairs of the Mexican people, superior to that of any other foreign power. A strict regard for historical truth compels me to state, that British diplomacy in Mexico has, from first to

last, next to the church, been one of the chief obstacles to the progress of liberal principles in that country.

Spain, at first, refused to recognise Mexican independence, and for years she used all her artifices to create discord in the new republic, with the hope of regaining her ancient colonies. But at last, in 1839, Spain recognised the federate government of Mexico, and Señor Calderon de la Barca was appointed minister to that government. The first envoy from Spain was received in the national capital with considerable friendly enthusiasm, which, however, proved but momentary; and relations between the two countries have been continued under feelings of cordial hatred, but poorly concealed on both sides.

All that can be said of French diplomacy in Mexico is, that of late years it has been conspicuous only in its efforts to sustain despotic rule, both civil and religious.

Under the combined exertions and influence of all these despotic agencies, unfriendly to the regeneration of Mexico, arbitrary laws, regulating the foreign commerce and internal trade of the country, by which these branches of business were constituted, the most odious and oppressive of monopolies, were established and perfected. A high tariff on the bulk of foreign importations was imposed, and these same goods, in passing to the interior, have always been subject to what are known as *alcavalas*, a series of interior duties, state, municipal, &c., which, in many instances, amount to more than 200 per cent. of the original cost of the goods. Common brown sheetings, the cotton goods most used by the poor Mexicans, and which

can be purchased in our shops at retail for 4 or 5 pence per yard, are sold in the interior of Mexico at 12 to 13 pence per yard.

This system of excessive charges on imported merchandise, in connection with the high rate of duty imposed on specie and bullion exported from the country, is another of the great evils under which Mexico has suffered. It has proved the most prolific source of corruption in the government of the country, from the highest dignitary of state down to the lowest municipal officer; and so great is the premium it offers to smuggling, that nearly the whole trade of the country is more or less of a contraband character. The system of smuggling in Mexico commenced, in fact, with the inauguration of the republic. In 1830, certain American merchants were the most prominent in this business, especially on the Pacific coast. In a few years the American smugglers were superseded by Europeans, who have since held the monopoly of the Mexican Pacific trade, based on the smuggling system. It sometimes happens that Mexican officials cannot be bribed, and a foreign merchant caught in false proceedings or downright smuggling, is arrested and treated according to law. Forthwith a messenger is despatched post haste to the foreign minister in the city of Mexico, generally English, with a flaming account of high-handed outrages against the person and property of a foreign citizen by the barbarous Mexicans. The foreign minister in the city of Mexico always knows of some tender spot in the general government upon which an effectual pressure can be brought to bear, and, willingly or unwillingly, an official

order is despatched from head-quarters to the effect that ample remuneration for all damages and an humble apology for all insults must be accorded to the outraged foreign citizen ; and, sooner or later, the order is enforced. Bring the fact home to those parties that they are engaged in a contraband business, and they do not deny it, but denounce the government that will establish a tariff so excessive, and affect to contemn and despise a people who will tolerate it. When, however, the people determine not to submit to this oppressive tariff any longer, and rise in support of a liberal government, based on a constitution which abolishes the high tariff and establishes the principles of free trade, where do you find those foreign contraband traders ? You find them, and the ministers of their respective governments, resident at the national capital, in league with the most active and powerful foes of that same constitutional government of the people which would do away with all premium and excuse for smuggling, and relieve the country of one of the greatest evils under which it suffers. The reason for this course on the part of these foreign contraband traders is obvious. A material reduction of the Mexican tariff would break up the monopoly they enjoy. A few of these influential foreign traders, with their respective ministers, resident in the capital, regulate, in fact, the entire commerce and trade of the country. They sustain a high tariff and other hindrances to general business, by which means they create a monopoly. They wrong the Government out of its just revenues, derange its finances, and impoverish its treasury, while, as powerful monopolists, they exact from the people

extravagant prices for their wares and merchandise. Even the European ambassadors, resident in Mexico, frequently take advantage of this state of affairs and of their position, to obtain a goodly share of the plunder. It is but a few years since that the French minister in the city of Mexico, imported carriages under the seal of the legation to such an extent, that one evening a mob, composed mostly of those whose interests were seriously injured by these importations, broke open the repository of the French minister, dragged therefrom his stock in trade,—some sixty carriages,—and burned them on the public Plaza!

The Mexican government stipulated in convention to set aside a large portion, some forty-eight per cent., of the duties received at the custom-houses, in payment of this foreign debt. The system of smuggling carried on by foreigners on the Pacific coast, and enforced by British men-of-war, deprives the Government of nearly all revenue in that quarter, while in the Gulf ports, commerce is crippled, and the revenue of the Government is, at certain periods, cut down to a low figure, by the irregular proceedings and hard exactions of foreign ministers, consuls, and traders. A thorough exposure of the universal system of plunder to which Mexico is subjected in her business relations by foreign officials and traders, and a few capitalists, foreign and native, who mostly reside in the capital, would prove that the government of that country is defrauded out of more than three quarters of its lawful revenue.

CHAPTER VI.

THE territory of the Mexican Republic extends from the 15th to the 32nd parallel of north latitude, and from the 86th to the 117th degree of longitude, west of Greenwich.

Its boundaries are the Pacific Ocean on the west; the United States on the north; the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, which washes part of the coast of Yucatan, on the east; and the English territory of the Belize and the Central American Republic of Guatemala on the south.

The dividing line between the United States and Mexico, according to the treaty of December 30th, 1853, known as the Mesilla or Gadsden Treaty, is as follows:—‘Beginning in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, as provided in the 5th article of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; thence, as defined in the said article, up the middle of that river, to the point where the parallel of $31^{\circ} 47'$ north latitude crosses the same; thence due west one hundred miles; thence south to the parallel of $31^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude; thence along the said parallel of $31^{\circ} 20'$ to the 111th meridian of longitude west of Greenwich; thence in a straight line to a point on the Colorado

* These statistics have been mainly furnished me by Edward Lee Plumb, Esq., attaché to the American Legation at Mexico, Mr. Grant, one of the oldest British residents there, and Henry D'Oleire, Esq., Prussian Consul at Vera Cruz.

river, twenty English miles below the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers ; thence up the middle of said river Colorado until it intersects the present line between the United States and Mexico,' and thence to the Pacific by the line separating the two Californias, which, as laid down in the treaty of Guadalupe, is as follows :—' A straight line drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, according to the plan of said port,' attached to the treaty.

The extreme length of the Republic, north-west and south-east, measured on a straight line from the southern extremity of the State of Chiapas to the northern limit of Lower California, within one league of the Bay of San Diego, is upwards of 2,000 miles ; and its extreme breadth at 26 degrees of north latitude, over 1,100 miles.

Its coasts extend over 1,600 miles in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea ; and upwards of 4,200 miles on the Pacific Ocean and in the Gulf of California. Its northern frontier is 1,792 miles in length, and its southern 532 miles.

In the aggregate, the frontier States have but 637,106 inhabitants, and, including Sinaloa and Durango, their population is only 953,625, or less than one million ; yet these six states and one territory have an area of 400,000 square miles, or more than one half of the entire Mexican Republic.

The geological structure or physiognomy of Mexico is peculiar. The great Cordillera of the Andes, which traverses the whole of South America, from its southernmost limit, is exceedingly depressed at the Isthmus of Panama, and

again at Tehuantepec, where it serves merely to form a barrier between the union of the Pacific and Atlantic. But as soon as this massive chain enters the broader portion of North America, it divides into two gigantic *arms*, one to the east and along the shores of the Gulf, and the other to the west along the shores of the Pacific, which support between them a continuous lofty platform, or series of table-lands, crossed and intersected by innumerable sierras, some of which rise to the height of 17,000 feet above the level of the sea.

This geological structure prevails throughout the whole of Mexico; but on the eastern side the table-land declines, until at the Rio Grande, on entering Texas, it has reached the level of that river; and on the north toward El Paso, and along the frontier of Chihuahua and Sonora, its general elevation has become only some 3,000 to 4,000 feet.

The following lines of elevations will illustrate the peculiar topography of Mexico:—

LINE FROM VERA CRUZ TO EL PASO.

Places	Altitudes	Places	Altitudes
Vera Cruz . . .	Level	Villa de Leon . . .	6,130
Orizaba	4,050	Lagos	6,380
Summit	7,640	Aguas Calientes . .	6,260
San Augustin . . .	7,270	San Luis Potosi . . .	6,090
Puebla	7,200	Zacatecas	8,040
Mexico	7,500	Fresnillo	7,240
Tula	6,730	Durango	6,850
San Juan del Rio .	6,490	Paras	4,990
Quéretaro	6,360	Saltillo	5,240
Celaya	6,020	El Bolson de Mapini .	3,790
Salamanca	5,760	Chihuahua	4,640
Guanajuato	6,840	El Paso del Norte . .	3,810
Silao	5,910		

FROM DURANGO TO RIO GRANDE.

Places	Altitudes	Places	Altitudes
Durango . . .	6,850	Ceralos . . .	1,006
Saltillo . . .	5,240	Mier . . .	417
Rinconada . . .	3,380	Camargo . . .	422
Monterey . . .	1,630	Regnosa . . .	104
Marin . . .	1,354		

MEXICO TO ACAPULCO.

Places	Altitudes	Places	Altitudes
Mexico . . .	7,500	Matamoras de Azucar .	3,400
Amecameca . . .	8,129	Mescala . . .	1,588
Cuautla . . .	4,380	Rio Papagayo . . .	1,000
Cuernavaca . . .	4,000	Acapulco . . .	Level

ALTITUDES OF MINING LOCALITIES.

Places	Altitudes	Places	Altitudes
Guanajuato . . .	6,840	Pachuca . . .	8,112
Fresnillo . . .	7,240	Catorce . . .	8,788
Zacatecas . . .	8,040	Real del Monte . . .	9,000

HEIGHTS OF THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS.

	States	Elevation above the Sea
Popocatepetl* . . .	Mexico . . .	17,716 feet
Pico de Orizaba* . . .	Vera Cruz . . .	17,372 "
Iztaccihuatl . . .	Mexico . . .	15,619 "
Cofre da Perote . . .	Vera Cruz . . .	13,410 "
Nevado de Toluca . . .	Mexico . . .	14,567 "
Zempoaltecatl . . .	Oajaca . . .	11,141 "
Colima* . . .	Jalisco . . .	12,034 "
Pico de Quicceo . . .	Michoacan . . .	10,072 "
Soconusco* . . .	Chiapas . . .	7,374 "
Jesus Maria . . .	Chihuahua . . .	8,238 "
Tabacotes . . .	" . . .	7,739 "

	States	Elevation above the Sea
Cerro del Mercado . . .	Durango . . .	7,923 feet
Veta Grande	Zacatecas . . .	9,126 "
Bufo de Zacatecas . . .	" . . .	8,294 "
Jorullo*	Michoacan . . .	1,683 "
Tuxtla*	Vera Cruz . . .	1,000 "

NOTE. — The mountains marked thus [*] are volcanoes.

RIVERS.

Those which flow through the Mexican territory are divided into three classes, viz., those which flow into the Pacific Ocean, those which empty into the Gulf of Mexico, and those which terminate in lakes and lagunas, as will be seen by the following table:—

Rivers	States in which situated	Length in miles	Termination
Bravo del Norte	New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas	1,427	Gulf of Mexico
Panuco . .	Tamaulipas . .	286	" "
Alvarado . .	Vera Cruz . .	161	" "
Coatzacoalcos	Tehuantepec . .	145	" "
Grijalva . .	Tabasco . .	344	" "
Osumacinta . .	" . .	341	" "
Rio Yaqui . .	Sonora . .	357	Gulf of California
Rio Mayo . .	" . .	208	" "
Fuerte . .	Between Sonora and Sinaloa	278	" "
Culiacan . .	Sinaloa . .	156	" "
Balzas . .	Guerrero, Michoacan, and Mexico	419	Pacific Ocean
Mezquital . .	Durango and Jalisco	299	" "
Santiago . .	Jalisco . .	261	" "
Ures . .	Sonora . .	411	Lake of Sonora
Nazas . .	Coahuila . .	282	Lake of the Caiman
Lerma . .	Mexico, Michoacan, and Guanajuato	282	Lake of Chapala continues its course in Jalisco, under the name of the Santiago

CLIMATE.

Mexico is divided into three regions, or superficial strata, which are classed as follows :—

1. The Tierras Calientes, or hot lands, which embrace chiefly that portion of the territory lying on the borders of the Atlantic and Pacific, and extend up the slope of the respective ranges to an elevation of between three and four thousand feet.

This division, however, is not confined exclusively to the coast, for it also includes such portions of the interior as do not exceed this elevation, and where there are heat and moisture enough to produce the fruits of the tropics.

2. The Tierras Templadas, or temperate regions, comprise all the greater portion of the Republic having an elevation of between four thousand and eight thousand feet, embracing the whole of the vast plateau stretched between the mountains of the Gulf and those of the Pacific slope. This is the characteristic region of Mexico, and includes within its limits all the great centres of population of the Republic.

3. The Tierras Frias, or cold lands. These comprise the mountainous districts rising above the level of the 'Tierras Templadas' up to the limit of constant snow.

Between these elevations of eight thousand and three thousand feet, a considerable Indian population, hardy and independent, are to be found upon the sierras, and also within it are many of the most extensive mining districts of the country.

Though Mexico extends into both the temperate and

the torrid zones, its climate, it will be seen, depends less upon latitude than upon elevation.

In general, the Republic, with the exception of the coast and a few other places which, from their situation, are extremely hot, enjoys an even and temperate climate, free from the extremes of heat and cold, in consequence of which most of the hills in the cold regions are covered with trees which never lose their foliage, and often remind the traveller of the beautiful scenery of the valleys of Switzerland. In the Tierra Caliente we are struck by the groves of mimosas, liquid amber, palms, and other gigantic plants characteristic of tropical vegetation ; and, finally, in the Tierra Templada, by the enormous haciendas, many of which are of such extent as to be lost to the sight in the horizon with which they blend.

The Mexicans are not accustomed to separate the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, for the variation of temperature scarcely authorises such marked distinctions of climate ; but they divide the twelve months into two grand divisions, 'the dry season' and 'the rainy season.'

The latter commences about May and lasts usually four months, whilst the dry season comprises the remainder of the year.

NATURAL WEALTH OF THE REPUBLIC.

Under this head Sr Lerdo de Tejada, in his 'Cuadro Sinoptico,' remarks : 'It would not be possible in a synoptical view of this kind to give a full scientific and minute description of all the various elements of wealth which exist

in Mexico. We shall therefore content ourselves with simply indicating several of the most important items, in order to give some faint idea of the immense wealth which is contained in and upon the soil of Mexico.

To commence with the animal kingdom. The various quadrupeds which minister to the use of man for food or other purposes, abound in such quantities that, owing either to the smallness of population, or to the little use made by the great mass of the people of meat for their daily food, there is not perhaps any other country in the world where cattle sell so cheap as in Mexico. Wild animals, valuable as articles of food, are found in equal abundance throughout the country. The number of horses and asses is enormous. The same may be said of mules, which are commonly employed for carriages, for agricultural labours, and for working in the mines.

Of birds fit for food there are above seventy different sorts in the Republic. Of the birds which are distinguished by the beauty of their plumage and the sweetness of their song, there are, according to Clavejero, about fifty or sixty different species.

As regards fish, they are found in immense numbers and of great variety, both on the coasts of the Gulf and the Pacific, as well as in the lakes and streams of the interior. In speaking of fisheries we ought not to omit to mention, as a part of the natural wealth of Mexico, the tortoise-shell fishery on the coast of Yucatan, which yields very abundantly; and also the pearl fisheries on the coast of Lower California, and at other places on the Pacific shore.

All kinds of productions belonging to the vegetable kingdom are produced in Mexico.

The elevated part of the country is capable of producing every kind of grain or fruit raised in Europe, while the lower portions of the country yield every production of the tropics.

The *vanilla* is cultivated with great ease: cuttings about a foot in length are inserted in the bark of the tree upon which it is intended to climb. The flowers are of a greenish yellow, mixed with white. Of three varieties, that known as *la pina* is the most esteemed. The longer and narrower the pods the greater is their value. Vanilla sells at from two to four dollars of silver. It has a climbing stalk, sending out roots from the joints and mounting to a great height; the leaves, which come out singly at each joint, are oblong, smooth, and jointed; the helmet is of pale pink, and the lips purple; the pods grow in pairs, and are generally of the thickness of a child's finger, and about five or six inches long: they are green at first, then yellowish, and then brown as they ripen. When gathered they are made to ferment in the heat for several days, and then dried in the sun, during which process they are touched with palm oil. The stalk is slender, and throws out long, winding tendrils opposite to each of the lower leaves, by which it adheres to the branches of the tree; but after it gains the top these become useless, and their place is supplied by leaves.

It may be truly said that the soil of Mexico is the most fertile in the world. There are, it is true, outside of the torrid zone, some tracts which, from want of water, are unproduc-

tive ; but in all other parts the labourer, with very little work and trouble, is sure to reap a rich and abundant recompense for his toil. In some places the production is almost fabulous, where, for one bushel of maize or Indian corn put into the ground, the return is from 250 to 300 bushels.

Various kinds of trees are to be found in Mexico, useful for the valuable gums which distil from their trunks, such as the india-rubber or gum-elastic tree, the copal, the gum-lac, the liquid amber, and others. Medicinal plants of all kinds also abound.

Of timber trees there are immense forests, which afford woods of great beauty and solidity.

Dye-woods are produced in great quantities, especially in the Isle of Carmen, and on the coast of Vera Cruz and Tamaulipas in the Gulf of Mexico, and on the coasts of the Pacific.

To the great variety and riches of the vegetable kingdom may be added the extraordinary mineral wealth which abounds in Mexico. Besides gold and silver (which are principally worked) there are rich and abundant mines of iron, copper, mercury, tin, lead, zinc, cobalt, coal, sulphur, salt, porcelain clay, and other minerals. As mining, perhaps, more than agriculture, forms the chief branch of national industry, a great part of the inhabitants are to be found occupied in the mines or some of the numerous branches of works connected therewith.

Mexico also produces precious stones, as the ruby, amethyst, topaz, opal, garnets, pearls, agate, chalcedony, &c.

Marble and stone of all kinds fit for building are also found in abundance.

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF MEXICO.

The total annual value of the foreign importations into the Republic of Mexico is estimated by Sr Lerdo de Tejada at \$26,000,000, and of exportations at \$28,000,000, making a total foreign interchange of imports and exports of \$54,000,000 per annum. The general prevalence of contraband trade, particularly along the Pacific coast, renders it difficult, however, to arrive at the total importations of merchandise or exportations of specie; and the entire commerce, legal and illegal, may be considered nearly, if not quite, double the above amount.

The difference in favour of the exports as given above, is attributed to the large sums annually exported by the Government in payment of interest on the foreign debt, and to the large amounts exported by foreigners who, after some residence in Mexico, return to their homes.

The imports consist chiefly of cotton, linen, woollen, and silk fabrics, as well as cotton and silk in their raw state; brandies, wines, liquors, oil, earthenware, glass, quicksilver, iron, guns, steel, tin, hardware, watches, jewellery, paper, machinery, wax, cocoa, carriages, furniture, musical instruments, books, and other articles of minor importance.

The exports are principally of gold and silver, in coin and bars, of which precious metals an amount equal to twenty-two or twenty-three millions is annually extracted. The remaining five or six millions are made up by cochineal, vanilla, tobacco, coffee, jalap, sarsaparilla, American aloe, flax, copper, hides, tallow, timber, cattle, logwood, indigo, cocoa, pepper, salt, tortoise-shell, pearls, mother-of-pearl,

meat and fish salted, rice, beans, hats, woollen fabrics, biscuit, fruit, sugar preserves, and other articles of small value.

The importations from different countries, as estimated by Sr Lerdo de Tejada, in 1856, were as follows :—

Great Britain	.	.	.	.	\$12,500,000
United States	.	.	.	.	4,500,000
France	.	.	.	.	4,500,000
Germany	.	.	.	.	1,860,000
Spain	.	.	.	.	700,000
Belgium	.	.	.	.	300,000
Sardinia	.	.	.	.	90,000
Guatemala, Ecuador, New Granada, Venezuela, and Chili	.	.	.	.	250,000
Island of Cuba	.	.	.	.	600,000
India and China	.	.	.	.	700,000
Total	.	.	.	.	<u>\$26,000,000</u>

The total commerce, imports and exports, is distributed nearly as follows :—

Exchanges with England	.	.	.	.	\$33,400,000
„ „ United States (1858)	.	.	.	.	8,700,000
„ „ France	.	.	.	.	5,500,000
„ „ Germany	.	.	.	.	2,000,000
„ „ Spain	.	.	.	.	1,200,000
„ „ Belgium	.	.	.	.	400,000
„ „ Sardinia	.	.	.	.	100,000
„ „ Guatemala, Ecuador, New Granada, Venezuela, and Chili	.	.	.	.	500,000
„ „ Island of Cuba	.	.	.	.	1,200,000
„ „ India and China	.	.	.	.	1,000,000
Total	.	.	.	.	<u>\$54,000,000</u>

Besides this direct trade, England, in receiving, as she does, nearly all the silver which is exported by Mexico, in payment for her importations, not only from home but also from other countries, has the additional advantage of securing a profitable exchange business, and the exclusive freight upon this vast amount of treasure.

The exports to Vera Cruz of British produce and manufactures were, in 1856, 887,862*l.*; 1857, 567,311*l.*; 1858, 411,831*l.* We have not the figures for 1859 and 1860, but we understand that the amount has dwindled down to an exceedingly low point. In addition to this, there has been little or no interest paid on the debts due to the English for the past six years; and, as if to cap the climax, and expose the folly of English policy in Mexico, about \$1,000,000, interest money due to English claimants, which had accumulated in the city of Mexico, was, on the 19th day of November, 1860, by force of arms, burglariously abstracted from the vaults of the English legation, by the very government that England had so persistently and so powerfully sustained.

The shipments of silver from Mexico, in coin and bullion, amount annually to upwards of \$23,000,000.

After being collected from every Mexican port along the entire Gulf and Pacific coasts, by British men-of-war and by British steamers, supported by Government subsidy, it is shipped by the Royal West India Mail Line of Steamers, *via* St. Thomas, to England, where it forms a most important part of that great tide of the precious metals, by whose constant influx the commercial supremacy of Great Britain is supported and maintained.

From Panama northward, along the Central American coast, communication has been opened, since the latter part of the year 1856, by the far-sighted enterprise and public spirit of the Panama Railroad Company, who have established a line of steamers making monthly trips from Panama to the ports of Punta Arenas in Costa Rica, Realejo in Nicaragua, La Union, La Libertad, and Acajutla in San Salvador, and San Jose in Guatemala. Through the agency of these steamers not only has mail communication been established where before no facilities whatever existed, but an entire revolution in the commerce of these states has been effected.

The capacity of Mexico at once to sustain a large and profitable foreign commerce is much greater than is generally supposed.

The population of the Republic, according to the latest and best authenticated returns, is now over eight millions (8,283,088). This is divided, according to races, nearly as follows: —

Of pure European blood, $\frac{1}{5}$ — or say	.	.	.	1,656,620
Of the native or indigenous race, $\frac{4}{15}$ — or say	.	.	.	2,208,824
Of mixed European and indigenous blood, $\frac{8}{15}$ — or say	.	.	.	4,417,644
				<u>8,283,088</u>

The total area of the Republic is 766,482 square miles; giving an average density of 10·8 to the square mile. This, it will be observed, is a greater density of population than that of the United States; is one and one half times that of Canada; nearly twice that of Chili; over four times that of Brazil; and more than three times the average for the whole of South America.

This population, though not so far progressed in social developement as to have become accustomed to all the varied wants of more advanced countries, is a population that has been devoted for centuries to mining pursuits, and which consequently possesses all that extravagance of habit, fondness for display and unthriftiness of disposition, which are so proverbially engendered among a people chiefly devoted to such pursuits. Add to this the natural tendency towards extravagance of the Spanish character, and the reflecting mind will at once perceive that the consumption of foreign merchandise by such a people will be limited only by the supply afforded to them, and their ability to buy. They will consume fully to the extent of their resources. •

This disposition bears the more exclusively upon the foreign trade of Mexico, from the fact that domestic manufactures in that country are as yet in their infancy, and under the most favourable circumstances cannot for a long time compete with those imported by sea from European countries: consequently, for all except the more primitive articles of consumption, their entire dependence must be exclusively upon the supply received from abroad.

The limited means of communication that exist at present, and consequent irregularity, the high cost of transportation both into the country from abroad, and from the coast to the interior, have so added to the cost of foreign merchandise, that the resources of the country have been exhausted in paying for only moderate importations.

And yet the introduction of many of the appliances of modern inventions, and larger supplies of general merchandise at reduced rates, would present temptations too

strong to be resisted by a people naturally so lavish in their expenditure; and the desire to avail themselves of these new articles, and fuller supplies thus placed within their reach, will lead to an increased activity in the pursuit of the means wherewith to gratify their inclinations.

The present foreign importations of Mexico (\$26,000,000, population 8,283,088) are at the rate of but \$3·14 per head.

This is probably not one quarter of the consumption of foreign effects which might reasonably be expected from a people consuming so freely according to their means, and manufacturing so little, as the people of Mexico.

Canada imports at the rate of \$19·16 per head; Cuba, \$27·29; Chili, \$12·70; Brazil, \$8·96; and the whole of South America, \$6·13 per head.

With importations at the same rate — in proportion to population — as those of Chili, she would consume over \$105,000,000 per annum; and at the same rate as Cuba, she would require over \$225,000,000.

These last-named countries have a population in no respect likely to consume more largely — under equal facilities of communication — than that of Mexico; therefore we see what the trade of Mexico might become, even under the application of merely ordinary means of developement, and apart from the causes which have been alluded to as so strongly operating to increase her proportionate consumption over that of a more thrifty people or a more largely manufacturing country.

The importations from Great Britain into Mexico may be illustrated from a report made by order of Parliament.

For a period of seven years from 1840 to 1846, both included, the sum total of the value of the imports was nearly \$82,246,705, making an average value of \$12,000,000 per annum.

The principal articles of import were as follows :—drugs, haberdashery and wearing apparel, arms and ammunition, malt liquors, printed books, manufactures of brass and copper, furniture, carriages, coals, cordage, manufactures of cotton, earthenware of all kinds, glassware, hardware and cutlery, hats, iron and steel in bars, manufactured lead, prepared skins, harness and saddles, manufactures of flax, machinery, tools, musical instruments, &c.

Of these articles, cotton fabrics rank highest, the estimated value of the importations for the seven years amounting to more than \$57,000,000, while those of linen (which come next in order of value) were more than \$12,000,000, leaving only some \$12,000,000 or \$13,000,000 as the aggregate value of all the other imports from Great Britain into Mexico.

The character and value of merchandise entering into the commercial movement of Mexico with France, may be exemplified by those of the year 1851, as exhibited in the following statement made up from data furnished by the official returns of France :—

IMPORTS FROM FRANCE.

Description of Merchandise	Value
Manufactures of silk . . .	\$1,249,038
„ of cotton . . .	644,134
„ of wool . . .	625,447
	<hr/> \$2,518,619

Description of Merchandise	Value
Brought forward	\$2,518,619
Manufactures of glass	328,583
Engravings, books, &c.	278,065
Wines	245,693
Arms	231,419
Manufactures of metal	179,880
Haberdashery, &c.	126,549
Rabbit and hare skins	504,216
Mechanical and other tools	103,040
Dressed skins	67,017
Cutlery	56,851
Fish, pickled, &c.	55,546
Artificial flowers and fancy goods	47,310
Spirits and liquors	47,257
Manufactures of hemp and flax	45,921
Perfumery	42,957
Precious stones	40,000
Clocks and watches	39,943
Carriages, &c.	32,630
Jewellery	35,553
Furniture	32,581
Machines and machinery	25,541
Musical instruments	23,008
Stearine oil	21,675
Medicines	19,867
Iron and steel	19,747
Prepared skins	19,298
Silk (raw and manufactured)	15,861
Toys	15,073
Olive oil	13,976
Umbrellas and parasols (silk)	13,525
Sundries	221,966

\$5,469,167

EXPORTS TO FRANCE.

Cochineal	.	.	.	.	.	\$367,025
Vanilla	.	.	.	.	.	209,400
Dye-woods	.	.	.	.	.	405,429
Sarsaparilla and jalap	.	.	.	.	.	16,355
Hides	.	.	.	.	.	4,014
Indigo	.	.	.	.	.	3,731
Pepper	.	.	.	.	.	3,638
Copper	.	.	.	.	.	2,164
Sundry articles	.	.	.	.	.	132,930
						<u>\$1,144,686</u>

The reason of the shipments thither of the precious metals being so small in amount, is, that exchanges with England can always be more conveniently arranged than with France direct.

The importations into Mexico from Germany consist principally of linen textures ; such as Silesian linen, creas, &c., &c. ; to which are added, in smaller quantities, some chintzes, muslins, silk handkerchiefs, cloths, cassimeres, crystals, plain glass, fine and common hardware, arms, carriages, furniture, pianos, &c.

ADDITIONAL DUTIES ON MERCHANDISE.

All foreign goods imported into the Mexican Republic are liable to the following additional fixed duties, besides the import duty, regulated by the tariff, viz. :—

1. A municipal duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for every package weighing 200 pounds, payable to the custom-house at the port of discharge.

2. An internal improvement duty of one-fifth of the foreign or import duty, also payable at the port of discharge.

3. An internal duty of one-tenth the amount of the foreign duty, payable at the time of dispatching the goods into the interior.

4. A registering duty of one-fifth of the foreign duty, payable at the interior custom-house to which the goods are destined.

5. Sinking-fund duty of one-fourth of the foreign duty, payable at the Treasury, in bonds of the public consolidated and liquidated debt.

It will be observed that the above additional duties on foreign goods imported and remitted to the interior, amount to about 75 per cent. on the original import duty designated by the tariff. The exportation of gold and silver in bars, sheets, or dust, is strictly prohibited, as also gold and silver ores. The following can be exported on payment of the prefixed duties:—

Coined or worked gold	.	.	.	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Coined silver dollars	.	.	.	6 „
Stamped silver	.	.	.	7 „

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Mexican Coins.

1 onza	.	gold	=	16 dollars
1 peso	.	silver	=	1 dollar
1 real	.	„	=	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents.
1 medio real	.	„	=	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ „
1 quartillo	.	copper	=	3 $\frac{1}{8}$ „
1 tlaco	.	„	=	1 $\frac{9}{16}$ „

Measures.

1 foot	.	.	.	.	.	=	·928 English
1 vara (3 feet, Mexican)	.	.	.	.	.	=	2·784 feet, English
1 legua (2,663 to 1 meridian, English)						=	5,000 varas = 2·636 miles.

Weights.

1 onza	.	.	(8 ochavos)	=	1 ounce
1 marco	.	.	(8 onzas)	=	$\frac{1}{2}$ pound
1 libra	.	.	(2 marcos)	=	1 „
1 arroba	.	.	(25 libras)	=	25 pounds
1 quintal	.	.	(4 arrobas)	=	100 „
1 carga	.	.	(3 quintales)	=	300 „
1 fanega	.	.	(140 libras)	=	2 bushels nearly.

PORTS OF ENTRY FOR FOREIGN COMMERCE.

In the Gulf of Mexico.

Vera Cruz, Tampico, Matamoras, Sisal, Campeche, Tabasco, Isla del Carmen (Laguna), Coatzacoalcos.

In the Pacific Ocean and Gulf of California.

La Ventosa, Acapulco, Manzanillo, San Blas, Mazatlan, Guaymas.

CUSTOM-HOUSES ON THE FRONTIER.

On the Northern Frontier.

Matamoras, Camargo, Mier, Piedras Negras, Monterey or Laredo, Presidio del Norte, Paso del Norte.

On the Southern Frontier.

Tonala, Zapaluta.

PORTS OPEN TO THE COASTING-TRADE.

In the Gulf of Mexico.

Alvarado, Tecolutla, Tuxpan, Santacomapan.'

In the Pacific Ocean and Gulf of California.

La Escondida, Sihuantanejo, Altata, Navachiste, La Paz, Cape San Lucas.

DOMESTIC OR INTERIOR TRADE.

His excellency Don Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, in his work entitled 'Cuadro Sinoptico,' of the Mexican Republic in 1856, reviews the domestic trade of Mexico as follows:— 'Although it is somewhat difficult, in the absence of complete data, to give a correct statement of the interior commerce of the Republic,* or of the value of its domestic exchanges, it is nevertheless easy, by calculation, to arrive at an approximate result, taking as a basis the produce of its agriculture, of its industry, of the mines and cattle, as well as the conveyances of real estate, and, finally, the amount of foreign merchandise, computed according to its value in the interior markets; all of which cannot be estimated at less than \$450,000,000 per annum; and, admitting that one-half of the national products are not articles of mercantile speculation, on account of their passing from production to immediate consumption, and that the other half only pass through two hands ere disappearing from circulation, it is, beyond doubt, apparent that the interior commerce of the Republic, proceeding as above stated,

amounts, at the present date, annually, to more than \$400,000,000. As a proof of there being no exaggeration in the above estimate, it will suffice to say, that, according to the mercantile statistics published by the Board of Trade in Mexico, Puebla, Queretaro, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, and Guadalajara, from the years 1842 to 1846 inclusive, the value of domestic and foreign goods (including specie) *legally introduced* into those six departments, based upon the custom-house valuation, which is generally less than the real value, amounted, annually, to more than \$40,000,000.

‘The medium of exchanges by drafts, although not generally understood or adopted throughout the Republic, being in operation only between the capital and such points as are open to foreign commerce and the principal cities, amounts, according to reliable data, to thirty or forty million dollars per annum.

‘The banking and discount business for lending money at interest on mortgage, or other good securities, as well as for discounting bills and notes at short dates, is also of some importance; as, over and above the large amount of funds belonging to the clergy and other religious bodies (which have, in reality, for many years past, formed a great national bank, their real estate, representing as it does from eighty to one hundred million dollars) out at interest, this class of business, which more than any other affords to those who exercise it the advantage of appropriating to themselves the produce of the industry and the labour of others by the agency of their capital, has become quite general in all the departments enjoying any kind of industry and commercial activity. The total value of operations

effected in the city of Mexico alone, amounts annually to between eight and ten million dollars; and that done in the other parts and cities of the Republic to an equal sum.'

MEANS OF INTERNAL TRANSPORTATION.

The conveyance of all kinds of merchandise throughout the Republic of Mexico is effected by pack-mules, and wagons drawn by mules and oxen. With this system, and the bad state of the roads generally, it will be easily understood that transportation is not only slow but costly, and forms one of the chief obstacles in the way of the developement of the great resources of the country. The average distance performed by mules and wagons is from fifteen to eighteen miles per day, with the exception, however, of an enterprise recently established, which runs a line of wagons from Vera Cruz to Queretaro, and *vice versâ*, passing through the city of Mexico, averaging during the dry season from 36 to 45 miles per day, thus performing the journey (390 miles) in 11 days.

The cost of transporting merchandise from one place to another varies much, according to the price of wages and pasture, always rising, however, during the rainy season. As a general thing, freights on the most frequented roads do not exceed two cents per arroba of 25 lbs. per Mexican league.

Personal travelling is generally performed on horse or mule back, which is not only the most economical, but in many cases the only possible way, owing to the narrow and precipitous roads between many towns. On the high

roads, travelling and transportation are performed by conveyances of various kinds, drawn by horses and mules. In some parts of the tropics, as, for instance, between Jalapa and Vera Cruz, litters supported by mules or men are used. For the general conveyance of passengers, besides private carriages, there exists a line of diligences which perform regular trips from Mexico to Vera Cruz, to San Blas on the Pacific, and to other points of the interior, in the following order :—To Puebla every day ; to Orizaba and Vera Cruz, Pachuca and Toluca, during six days of the week ; to San Blas, Morelia, Cuernavaca, Cautla, Tulancingo, three times a week ; and from Guanajuato to Leon three times a week. Besides the above principal line of diligences, there are others performing service between the following places :—From Puebla to Vera Cruz, by Perote and Jalapa ; from Mexico to Ameca and Ixmiquilpan ; from Guadalajara to Zapotlan ; from Lagos to Zacatecas, by Aguascalientes ; from Puebla to Matamoras Izucara ; and from Sisal to Merida, three times a week. The fare by the diligences is not the same on all roads, but, as a general rule, the rate varies from ten to twenty pence per Mexican league.

By means of this 'general line of diligences,' a traveller can traverse the Republic from one sea to the other—a distance of 912 miles, from the port of Vera Cruz to that of San Blas on the Pacific, passing through the principal cities, including the capital, in the short space of eleven days. Part of the time is spent in resting at the different towns on the road, so that in reality the time spent in travelling, changing horses, and feeding, is only 144 hours.

Arrangements are in contemplation for a good carriage road from the city of Mexico to Acapulco. This will enable passengers landing at Vera Cruz to reach Acapulco, on the Pacific coast, and *vice versâ*, with safety and despatch.

AGRICULTURE.

This branch of industry is reviewed by Sr Lerdo de Tejada, as follows:—

‘The agricultural productions of Mexico are still limited to the absolute necessities for the consumption of its inhabitants, and the extent of ground under tillage is not equal to more than one-eighth of the whole area of the Republic.

‘The principal productions are maize, beans, and chile (which three articles in general constitute the only food used by the poorer class), wheat, barley, rice, potatoes, peas, lentils, American aloe, nopal, sugar-cane, cocoa, coffee, cotton, tobacco, pepper, anis, vanilla, sarsaparilla, olives, and all kinds of fruits and horticultural productions, to which may be added indigo, cochineal, wax, and silk, of which two last articles large quantities are already produced in the States of Michoacan, Jalisco, and Guana-juato.

‘As regards the annual value of the agricultural produce of Mexico, the statistics are so limited and unsatisfactory that it is quite impossible to arrive at anything like a correct estimate. The most reliable information which we possess is contained in an account presented in the year 1817, by Don Jose Maria Quiroz, at that time

secretary to the consulado in Vera Cruz, and according to whom, the total value of agricultural produce in New Spain amounted then to \$138,850,121 annually, including \$4,997,496, as the amount of produce exported; which sum, when compared with the then existing population of 5,810,005, gives an average of \$24 per head. This estimate, however, cannot serve as a basis to arrive at its present value, considering the progress, even though slow, which has been made since, in this and all other branches of industry.

‘For want of better data, we will take the amount of population, and calculating the quantity of agricultural produce necessary for the support of each person .at \$25 per annum, or about 3*d.* per day, the result is a yearly produce equal in value to \$197,000,000 ; and if to this be added the produce consumed by cattle, the production of cotton, which amounts annually to 70,000 quintals, and that of cochineal to 625,000 lbs., as well as of silk and wax, and many other products, it will be seen that the territorial value of produce in this Republic cannot be estimated at a less total than \$220,000,000 ; and if to this be added \$40,000,000, as the value of reproduction in all kinds of horses, cattle, and poultry, and of their natural produce, such as milk, eggs, tallow, &c., &c., all of which are considered under the head of agriculture, the annual value of this branch throughout the whole country may be safely estimated at \$260,000,000.’

In order to give a more clear idea regarding the various agricultural productions of the country, they are presented under their special heads, as follows :—

Sugar-cane.—The cultivation of sugar-cane, as much from its enormous yield as from its good quality, is of the greatest importance in the Republic, and ought to be one of the principal articles produced for exportation. In Mexico, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Michoacan, Tabasco, Oajaca, Chiapas, Yucatan, Sonora, and Lower California, exist large plantations. In the first six States mentioned above, are manufactured yearly 40,000,000 pounds of sugar, in the following proportions:—

	lbs.
Mexico . . .	25,000,000
Puebla . . .	4,000,000
Vera Cruz . . .	2,500,000
Michoacan . . .	5,000,000
Tabasco . . .	2,000,000
Oajaca . . .	1,500,000
	<u>40,000,000</u>

Coffee has been produced of very good quality in the districts of Autlan and Tepic, in the State of Jalisco; but the best is found in Cuernavaca, Colima, and some parts of the state of Vera Cruz; which is, as before stated, equal in quality to the best produced in any part of the world; that of Orizaba also is justly celebrated.

Tobacco is cultivated with success in many parts of the Republic, and is destined to become an article of extensive exportation, particularly that produced in Tabasco, called 'Tabaco de Corral,' and, in fact, that of many other districts can be favourably compared with the best grown in Cuba.

Indigo is found wild in great quantities in many parts of Oajaca, Tabasco, Yucatan, Chiapas, Michoacan, and Colima. That produced in the last-mentioned place is considered to be of a superior quality.

Rice is cultivated to a considerable extent in the Tierras Calientes, in damp and marshy situations, and yields from 40 to 60 per cent. It is destined to become one of the principal objects of agricultural industry, as the soil and climate of many localities are peculiarly adapted to its growth.

Cocoa of excellent quality is found in Tabasco and Soconusco, in the state of Chiapas, and other places in the States on that side of the Gulf, and in field equals any in the world.

Flax and *Hemp* are successfully cultivated; the latter particularly, in the southern districts of Michoacan, where it grows even spontaneously. The product is very large, and the fabrics made from it highly approved.

Cotton.—Throughout the cotton-growing districts of the United States the cotton plant is of annual growth; frost destroys it, and the planter is obliged to renew the seed for every crop. But in the Tierra Caliente of Mexico this is not requisite, as the tree propagates itself, and the labourers are only required to keep the fields clear of useless vegetation. The production, however, is very limited, not at all meeting the wants of the factories in the Republic, and probably does not exceed in the aggregate over 25,000 bales of 400 lbs. each per annum.

Cochineal.—The cultivation of this article has always been of the greatest importance in the State of Oajaca.

The crop and value of it in the years 1854 and 1855 were in that State alone as follows:—

	Cochineal Zacatillo	Grana blanca	Granilla	Value
1854	150,525 lbs.	632,625 lbs.	2,460 lbs.	\$523,433
1855	145,050 „	500,525 „	1,550 „	459,709
Total	<u>295,575 „</u>	<u>1,133,150 „</u>	<u>4,000 „</u>	<u>\$983,142</u>

Vanilla.—The vanilla bean is cultivated on a few plantations in Oajaca, and also grows there, as in many other parts of the coast, spontaneously, in large quantities. In the State of Vera Cruz it is extensively cultivated, and has become one of the principal articles of exportation, with a gradual increase of shipments annually.

The Grape.—Although the cultivation of the vine would be a most important branch of industry, still it is at present limited principally to the town of Parras, in the State of Coahuila, where excellent wine has been produced. In Chihuahua and Sonora, however, wine and brandy are produced from the grape, and in Durango, Zacatecas, and Jalisco, a liquor called ‘Mescal’ is manufactured to a large extent.

Maize.—This plant, which is indigenous to America, is cultivated as well in the hot regions as in the temperate and cold. It has a very large consumption in this country, both for human food and for fattening animals. In the hot regions it produces from 250 to 300 grains for each one planted, and in a district near the capital as many as 600. In many parts of the country two crops are gathered annually, and, in fact, there are frequent in-

stances on the Gulf coast of three harvests on the same ground in one year.

Frijole, or Black Bean.—In the fields of wheat and maize is sown the frijole, or black bean, which is most extensively consumed in Mexico, and is as much of a national dish with the Mexicans as the potato is with the Irish.

Wheat is cultivated on all the central table lands. The best is found in Atlisco, in the State of Puebla, and in the fertile valleys between Queretaro and Guanajuato, called the Bajio, where it yields sixty bushels to one sown. In some parts of the State of Sonora, and other sections of the Republic, the yield has been computed by reliable authorities at an almost incredible amount.

Barley.—This grain is also extensively cultivated on all the central table lands with equally abundant harvests. There is a very great consumption of it throughout the country, as it is one of the principal articles of forage used by the muleteers and wagoners for the animals of the immense transportation trains.

Trees.—Besides almost every variety of fruit trees to be found in other parts of the world, Mexico possesses an inexhaustible source of wealth in the natural products of her forests, which furnish abundantly a supply of the several woods employed in shipbuilding and other mechanical arts, either for works of use or fancy.

In fine, it may be said that every branch of agricultural industry is susceptible of augmentation and improvement, and if a proper spirit of enterprise could once be awakened in its inhabitants, Mexico would soon become

one of the most prosperous and flourishing commercial countries on the American continent, affording to the world at large a more favourable opportunity than that hitherto enjoyed, for the mutual exchange of the numerous articles of foreign manufacture for the rich products of Mexican soil. The chief evil that now exists, is the constant drain of specie, and the diversion of enormous amounts from the natural arteries of national enterprise into European channels, in payment of imported goods. Let the Mexican people learn that such luxuries and necessities as they desire can be purchased with other equivalents besides hard silver dollars; and that in commercial exchange they can have what they desire without submitting to the impoverishment they yearly undergo by dealing outside the continent. Let them learn this, or let them have facilities to improve the knowledge of it, and their rich gold and silver mines will be converted into a circulating medium among the inhabitants, instead of finding its way into the vaults of European speculators; and the people of Mexico would then be induced to turn their attention to important national enterprises that would result in the future prosperity and aggrandisement of the whole country.

MINES AND COINAGE OF MEXICO.

The great wealth of Mexico, which is developed at the present day, consists in her mines. It is true that nearly the whole of the capital and labour, both foreign and domestic, employed in that country, has been devoted to the production of the precious metals, and though under a new order of things, agriculture and manufactures will doubtless receive

greater attention, still, the abundance of minerals throughout the length and breadth of the land is so great that its mines must always constitute the leading interest.

The minerals of Mexico are silver, gold, copper, iron, zinc, lead, *magistral*, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, cobalt, &c., &c. The mines of gold and silver only have been worked extensively, and silver forms the principal currency of the country and the great article of export.

In treating upon Mexico, there is no subject so unsatisfactory and bewildering as that which relates to the production of her mines. Humboldt, who wrote in 1803, gives some valuable statistics of mining operations in Mexico previous to that period. He gives the total amount of silver raised from the Mexican mines, from the conquest in 1521 to 1803, as \$1,767,952,000, according to the official returns, and adding one-seventh for unregistered silver, he makes the grand total \$2,027,952,000. Ward gives the total coinage from 1733 to 1826, as represented by Government returns, \$1,433,658,611.

The ancient Mexicans, properly speaking, had no coin. The conquerors introduced it into the colony, and coining dates from the building of a mint in the city of Mexico, in 1535. For many years after the invasion, pieces of gold and silver were stamped by officials of the Crown, which constituted them a circulating medium. The coinage of money in Mexico presents two great epochs; first, from the establishment of a mint in the city of Mexico, up to the Independence; and second, from the Independence down to the present date. The first period affords three subdivisions, viz.: 'Moneda Macaquina,' or Irregular coins;

'Moneda Columnaria,' or Colonnade coin; and 'Moneda de Busto,' or Bust coin. The first was so called, owing to its irregular form and weight, and was stamped by means of a hammer, with a cross, two lions, and two columns on one side; and on the reverse, with the name of the reigning king. The second received the name of 'Colonnade,' from presenting on one side the arms of Spain, supported by the columns of Hercules. This was the first coin struck in the mint according to the rules of art. The third, or 'Bust coin,' is that with which we are acquainted, bearing the effigy of the last king who ruled Mexico.

The following statement of the coinage of Mexico from the conquest down to and including the year 1856, is from official data furnished by the Ministerio de Fomento.

Amount coined in each of the different Mints of Mexico, from the Conquest to 1856 inclusive.

Mints	Silver	Gold	Copper	Total
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Mexico . . .	2,129,093,200	76,447,439	8,493,765	2,211,034,404
Chihuahua . .	10,593,397	956,992	50,428	11,600,818
Culiacan . . .	7,037,530	2,604,410	. . .	9,641,940
Durango . . .	29,841,957	2,831,916	. . .	32,673,873
Guadalajara .	25,056,753	651,317	62,069	25,770,140
Guadalupe y Calvo	2,063,958	2,311,104	. . .	4,375,062
Guanajuato . .	122,635,825	10,885,820	. . .	133,521,645
San Luis Potosi .	37,302,201	. . .	23,517	37,325,718
Sombrerete . .	1,551,249	. . .	. . .	1,551,249
Tlalpan . . .	959,116	203,544	. . .	1,162,660
Zacatecas . .	167,980,493	. . .	107,949	168,088,442
Total . . .	2,534,115,679	96,892,542	5,737,728	2,636,745,951

The yearly coinage of the mints of Mexico increased in steady progression from the time of the establishment of the first mint in the city of Mexico in 1535 up to the year 1805, when the highest amount was reached, being for that year \$27,000,000.

The total Coinage of the Mints of Mexico since the War of Independence is as follows:—

1822 . . .	\$9,816,525	1840 . . .	\$13,162,567
1823 . . .	9,785,024	1841 . . .	13,475,632
1824 . . .	9,560,472	1842 . . .	13,800,266
1825 . . .	8,927,658	1843 . . .	12,075,698
1826 . . .	8,177,471	1844 . . .	13,671,230
1827 . . .	10,395,291	1845 . . .	15,236,717
1828 . . .	10,237,448	1846 . . .	15,414,453
1829 . . .	12,164,483	1847 . . .	17,636,115
1830 . . .	11,608,871	1848 . . .	19,203,688
1831 . . .	10,258,299	1849 . . .	19,386,570
1832 . . .	12,216,460	1850 . . .	19,389,336
1833 . . .	12,642,876	1851 . . .	17,481,934
1834 . . .	12,972,148	1852 . . .	18,190,514
1835 . . .	11,815,687	1853 . . .	17,028,921
1836 . . .	11,530,622	1854 . . .	17,249,946
1837 . . .	11,470,509	1855 . . .	17,593,475
1838 . . .	13,084,267	1856 . . .	19,205,656
1839 . . .	12,525,085		

Total since the independence of Mexico, \$478,392,014.

In 1855.

Mints	Gold	Silver	Total
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Culiacan . . .	144,208	737,968	882,176
Chihuahua . . .	17,536	475,500	493,036
Durango . . .	73,647	609,171	682,818
Mexico . . .	155,263	4,013,359	4,168,622
Guanajuato . . .	555,200	4,698,800	5,254,000
Guadalajara . . .	10,368	633,662	644,030
San Luis Potosi . . .	. . .	1,849,795	1,849,795
Zacatecas . . .	. . .	3,619,000	3,619,000
Aggregate . . .	956,222	16,637,255	17,593,477

In 1856.

Mints	Gold	Silver	Total
	Dollars	Dollars'	Dollars
Culiacan . . .	279,668	658,536	938,204
Chihuahua . . .	10,064	400,000	410,064
Durango . . .	57,072	533,652	590,724
Mexico . . .	164,297	4,401,793	4,566,090
Guanajuato . . .	479,476	4,306,524	4,786,000
Guadalajara . . .	5,236	556,486	561,722
San Luis Potosi . . .	. .	3,676,000	3,676,000
Zacatecas . . .	. .	3,676,000	3,676,000
Aggregate . . .	995,813	18,208,991	19,204,804

Coin in circulation.—The ancient tribunal of the consulate in 1805, estimated the amount of money in circulation in New Spain, at something more than seventy-eight millions, which, being compared with the population, gave an average of fourteen dollars per head. Taking this estimate as a basis, and also taking into consideration the prosperity of mining operations, ever since that date, with the general improvement in the circumstances of a class who were formerly in misery, it is not an over-estimate to say that the amount in circulation, notwithstanding the great annual exportation, exceeds \$100,000,000.

Although this sum is undoubtedly sufficient for all the interior wants of Mexico, considering the small trade carried on in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, the fact that the greater portion of it is in few hands, with the want of confidence and absence of banks of issue (whose paper in other countries advantageously supplies a circulating medium) makes it comparatively useless, and

tends to show that there is not a sufficient circulation for the wants of the Republic.

The kings of Spain held the mines of Mexico as royal property, but any citizen of the country was allowed to work them by paying over to the royal treasury one-fifth of the product thereof. The government of Mexico, after she obtained her independence, decreed the mines to be public property, but placed certain limits on the miners, and required a small percentage on their products to be paid into the national treasury. This demand or tax is now relinquished, and any citizen or foreigner can, by the right of discovery, denounce or record the same, and obtain the right to work a certain number of varas free of all tribute.

The total value of gold and silver legally exported since the conquest down to 1858, a period of 339 years, is estimated by official documents at \$4,640,204,889. This gives \$13,687,920 as the average legal exports of the precious metals per annum, since the landing of Hernando Cortes up to 1858. We cannot regard this statement as having any approximation even to the truth. It is, in fact, absolutely impossible to give any reliable data from which an accurate estimate of the amount of precious metals that has been exported from Mexico, or in other words, how much gold and silver she has furnished to the world since the conquest by the Spaniards. Irregular or illegal commerce, both in imports and exports, was not carried on in Mexico under the viceroys to the same extent that it has been since the independence of the country, still, there has always been more or less irregularity, and the inducements to conceal

the real product of the mines and smuggle specie, bullion, and plate out of the country, have been great from the beginning.

There is every reason to believe, that the true amount is nearer \$40,000,000, and when we take into consideration the extent of illegal exportations of specie and illegal importations of merchandise, it would be found that the contraband trade exceeds the legal trade, and instead of presenting the present estimate of \$54,000,000 per annum, the facts, could they all be given, would, doubtless, make an exhibit of more than \$100,000,000 per annum. This explains why it is that the official returns make such an exceedingly low exhibit of imports per capita for the Mexican population, as compared with other Spanish American countries, that for Mexico being but \$3.14, while for Cuba they are \$27.29, Uruguay \$25.86, Chili \$12.70, Brazil \$8.96, and the average of the whole of South America is \$6.13 per capita.

REAL ESTATE.

According to the statistics furnished by Sr Lerdo de Tejada, based upon the last official statistics presented by the General Office for contributions to the Government, it would appear that the number of estates in the whole Republic amounts to 13,000, the value of which is estimated at \$720,000,000, and that of town property at \$635,000,000, so that the total value of real estate amounts to \$1,355,000,000.

Although the above sums may appear, at first sight,

somewhat exaggerated, they are doubtless considerably under the mark, notwithstanding the bad condition generally of property in the Republic. These amounts, of course, comprise the total value of the whole extent of real estate throughout the country, including the house property contained in 26,468 villages and towns of all classes, being the number now existing in the Republic. The latter class of property, in the city of Mexico alone, is worth to-day over \$80,000,000, and that in the other principal cities represents an aggregate capital of from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000.

The above figures show the enormous wealth of the Republic at the present time in real estate, which might be doubled or trebled in ten years with facility, could the country be so fortunate as to enjoy internal peace and prosperity during that length of time.

NATIONAL DEBT.

The total amount of the national debt, at the beginning of 1857, is divided into interior and exterior. The first arises out of sundry obligations contracted under the Vice-Royalty and after the Independence; and the second out of loans contracted in London in the years 1823 and 1824.

FOREIGN DEBT.

The capital of, or amount due under this head, according to the last convention, was £10,241,650, which,	
at \$5 per pound sterling, is equal to	\$51,208,250
For six dividends due since January 1st, 1853, up to	
December 31st, 1855	4,608,741
	<hr/> \$55,816,991

INTERIOR DEBT.

The total amount of this fund, on the 31st December, 1850, after making the deduction prescribed by law, passed on November 30th of the same year, was calculated at \$40,000,000, of which the Junta de Credito Publico had recognised and liquidated the sum of \$16,829,775, up to January 1st, 1855; but as certain amounts, paid previously, and the value of credits formed by after-conventions, which figure separately, were taken after the above calculation, this debt did not amount, at the beginning of 1857, to more than —

	\$30,000,000
To amount credited for interest on fund recognised, up to January 1st, 1856	2,491,395
The debt contracted during the five years preceding the above calculation, up to December 31st, 1855, supposing that not more than \$3,000,000 per annum have remained owing to military and civil obligations, and adding to this the debts contracted by the chiefs of the late revolution, which have been recognised by the present government, will amount to	17,000,000
British conventions	4,323,428
Of Padre Moran	855,210
	<hr/> 5,178,638
Spanish convention, including bonds in circulation and those to be emitted	6,680,000
French convention	600,000
	<hr/> \$61,950,033

RECAPITULATION.

Interior debt	.	.	.	.	\$61,950,033
Foreign „	.	.	.	.	55,816,991
Total .	.	.	.	.	<u>\$117,767,024</u>

NOTE.— The sum of \$768,123, the amount of one dividend on the British convention debt, may be deducted, as it has been paid since the above estimate was made.

Since the above statistics were made up, the French convention debt of \$600,000 has been liquidated.

GOVERNMENT REVENUE.

Notwithstanding that a law was made November 24th, 1856, designating the revenues of the Supreme Government and those of the States, it has not been put in practice, nor are the anterior laws on the subject; the consequence of which is, that many of the States not having a systematised revenue, take such sums from the general fund at their disposal, as they may require for their own wants. This being the real state of affairs, it is well to present, without any deduction, what the established taxes and revenue will produce, in order that a comparison may be made between them and the total amount of expenditure, which will clearly show what the true state of the treasury is:— .

Import duties	\$4,500,000
Twenty per cent. for material improvements	900,000
Twenty-five per cent. for sinking fund of the interior debt	1,125,000
Ten per cent. internal duties on \$3,500,000	350,000
Twenty per cent. register duty on ditto	700,000
Tonnage dues	90,000
Light-house dues	20,000
Exportation duty	500,000
Circulation duty	300,000
Alcavala, or interior duty	3,500,000
Three per cent. coinage and mint duty	450,000
One real per mark on same ($12\frac{1}{2}$ cents.)	220,000
Mails	150,000
Direct taxes	1,200,000
Stamp duty	150,000
Post-office	60,000
Lotteries	80,000
Tolls	300,000
Pawnbroker's house, foreign licences, legacy duty, salt duty, card duty, discount of salaries and sundries	405,000
Total	\$15,000,000

COMPARISON.

Expenses	\$24,819,203
Revenue	15,000,000
Deficit	<u>\$9,819,203</u>

Owing to the want of publicity in the management of the affairs of the clergy, it is difficult to arrive at the exact value and revenue of their property : still, an approximate estimate may be made, by taking as a basis the data within

reach—such as the annual value of agricultural produce, the number of births, marriages, and deaths, and the number of devout rites and fêtes which are still habitual and common with most of the inhabitants. According to these tables it can be safely computed that the total amount collected at this date by the clergy of Mexico, under the head of tithes, parochial dues, charities, ecclesiastical *fêtes*, and sale of devotional articles, is not less than from six to eight million dollars annually. So far as regards the property of the clergy, some writers have estimated it as one-half of the whole real estate in the country; others at one-third. Setting these statements aside, the total value of their property—including sums subscribed for chaplaincies and gifts, estates, houses, churches, and other resources—to-day, may be computed at \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000, notwithstanding the great losses which they are said to have suffered for some years past. In the city of Mexico alone, which contains 5,000 houses, valued at \$80,000,000, the clergy own at least one-half. The income of the above, added to the tithes and parochial dues, &c., &c., warrant me in stating that the Mexican clergy collect throughout the Republic annually a sum of \$20,000,000.

Up to the present time, two districts only of the State of Vera Cruz have been explored by speculators in mines: they are Jalapa and Jalacingo; and the ores have been found at about twenty-one miles north of the Cofre de Perote, at places called respectively Tatatila, Zomelahuacan, and Senepanoya.

There are being worked, at present, mines, containing lead mixed with gold, lead and copper, copper and iron,

and copper alone — in all eleven. Twelve are at present abandoned, from various causes, such as the want of capital or their being flooded with water in the rainy season.

To sum up the sources of material wealth, these statistics, drawn from the latest available sources down to the present hour, show us —

The number of landed estates of the Republic is 13,000, the value of which is roughly estimated by reliable authority at \$720,000,000, and town property at \$635,000,000. This gives a total valuation of real estate at \$1,355,000,000, or an average of \$163·50 per capita.

The mineral productions of Mexico are the present chief support of her foreign commerce.

The yield of silver is estimated by the best Mexican authorities to be upwards of \$23,000,000 per annum, and of gold, from one to two millions.

The amount of gold and silver coined in 1856 was \$19,870,906. The balance of the production is mostly illegally exported in the shape of bars from the Pacific coast, to avoid the coinage and export duties.

The great mineral wealth of Mexico has been so thoroughly demonstrated, and is so generally understood, that no one will doubt her capacity under an era of prosperity to produce twice or three times her present amount of silver. This alone is sufficient basis upon which to predicate a vast future increase of trade. In addition, recent explorations have brought to light on her Pacific coast a copper district, possessing all the characteristics of inexhaustible supply, and

great richness of the copper districts of Chili, and exceeding those districts in extent and accessibility.

Developed as this new source of wealth might be, this mineral would probably add upwards of \$10,000,000 per annum to the national products for exportation.

But the agricultural productions of Mexico, perhaps, may be destined hereafter to enter more largely into her foreign commerce than even the products of her mineral veins.

The annual value of the entire agricultural products of Mexico is already estimated at over \$250,000,000.

Of this only about \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000 enter as yet into the exportations of the country.

The present production is limited to the demand for home consumption, because there is no other market afforded: let a demand from abroad be created by an enlarged commerce and the establishment of means of transportation, and the production would at once rise fourfold.

The present entire agricultural production of Mexico is at the rate of only \$30 per head at the highest valuation, while that of Cuba, for exportation alone, is nearly as much per head as the entire product of Mexico, including that consumed at home.

The coffee of Mexico is equal to the best produced in any part of the world. A production equal to that of Brazil would give Mexico an amount to export, in this one article alone, of over \$30,000,000 per annum.

The sugar-cane of Mexico is as remarkable for its quality and yield, and the climate is as well adapted to its cultivation, as that of Cuba. The sugar lands of Mexico, which are found throughout the entire Gulf States, along the

Pacific and in the interior, are in no way inferior to those of Cuba.

The present production of the state of Mexico is about 25,000,000 lbs., and of the other States, in the aggregate say twice as much more, or in all 75,000,000 lbs., per annum. *None* is now exported, though in 1817 the exports of sugar from the port of Vera Cruz alone were \$1,458,330.

With a production equal to that of Cuba, Mexico's commerce in this one item would amount to upwards of \$40,000,000 per annum.

Tobacco is already cultivated with success in many parts of the Republic, and might become an article of most extensive exportation. Its cultivation and sale has heretofore been a Government monopoly, but is now free. The income derived by the Government from this source has been as high as \$2,000,000 per annum in past times.

Indigo at one time formed a very considerable item of the exportations from Vera Cruz, and might again enter largely into the foreign commerce of the country.

Cochineal is now largely exported, and with proper encouragement the amount could be rendered very important. According to an official document, the production of this one article in the State of Oajaca has amounted to over \$1,000,000 per annum, on an average, for the last hundred years. Mexico enjoys almost a monopoly of this product.

Vanilla and Cocoa also fall under the same head. The consumption of the latter article in the United States is largely increasing, and the supply must be derived mainly from the Mexican States.

In fine, it may be said that every branch of industry in

Mexico is susceptible of immense and immediate development, and that in all the elements that enter into and constitute a basis for a reliable and profitable trade, she stands as a customer more attractive and more desirable than any other country on the face of the globe.

When we consider that Mexico is to-day a country virgin to all the material improvements of the age — that she has railroads yet to build, telegraphs to construct, manufactories to establish, industrial enterprises of every kind to put in operation, her mines to work by the use of improved machinery, her lands to be cultivated, and their products gathered and prepared for market by the aid of modern labour-saving appliances — that, in fact, to all those inventions and improvements, and industrial ameliorations, to which we are now accustomed, and to which we owe so much of our material progress, she is as yet a stranger, and that for all these things she has to look abroad for her supply : when all this is considered, and we remember she has a population of eight millions inhabiting the richest country on the face of the globe, whose wants are thus to be supplied, we may well wonder at the apathy and indifference that has led us hitherto to neglect so great advantages, and for want of ordinary attention and trifling encouragement, to permit so rich a commerce to lie dormant at our very doors.

Ports.—The only works of any importance are the castle of San Juan de Ulloa at Vera Cruz, now dismantled by order of Government, and very much knocked about by several bombardments, so as to be able to offer little or no resistance. It was taken by the French in three hours, when garrisoned by the best men and in a

tolerable state of efficiency. The Yankees landed to leeward beyond its range, and took Vera Cruz from the rear.

A pass in the mountain, called Cerco Gordo, near Jalapa, has been attempted to be fortified by lines, and the natural strength of the position is great. But this was taken in the rear by the Yankees, and turned with very little loss.

The only fort on the road up to Mexico is the castle of Perote. It is on a plain, and commands nothing. It is more suited for an arsenal.

There is a fort near Puebla, but it is commanded by two adjacent hills, and, though it has bastions and ditches, may be easily shelled.

In Mexico there is a citadel, originally a cigar factory. There are ditches and earthworks, but of no military strength. It stands on perfectly flat ground.

The navy consists of two small steamers, six guns.

CHAPTER VII.

POPULATION—FINANCE — COPPER BONDS — INSECURITY
OF LIFE—ARMY.

THE capabilities for raising cotton are enormous. The plant was known, and extensively cultivated, before the arrival of the Spaniards, under Cortez, and most probably is indigenous. Some of the varieties are very fine, particularly, that raised on the west coast, between Acapulco and Colima, where the soil and climate are peculiarly favourable to its production.

Vast regions on both sides of the Cordillera are most admirably adapted for the cultivation of this important article ; in all the table lands of moderate elevation white labour may be advantageously employed. These lands are found lying out of the range of fever, and perfectly salubrious. The quality of that now produced is good, but very imperfectly cleaned, and as yet very little attention or capital has been bestowed on its culture or preparation. With an influx of labour, and the introduction of

machinery, it would no doubt soon become a most important article of export, as the land suitable to its growth is almost without limit, and lies close to ports whence it could be easily shipped. These considerations have by no means escaped the keen vision of the nearest neighbours of Mexico. In many of the United States papers, speeches are to be read and lectures given on the desirability of getting a fresh supply of land for the great staple of the Southern States; but, alas! it is always with the addition of the domestic institution. Not only could the wholesale importations of negro slaves enable the Southern States to get up a most enormous and lucrative trade in cotton from this country, but the inevitable result would be the enslaving of the four millions of wretched Indians who now drag on their existence at least in the enjoyment of a perfect personal liberty—a blessing which, in the absence of nearly every other, they inordinately value, if it is possible to put a limit on such a necessity to life; a consideration which, even more than the immense importance of opening up a new channel for the supply of Manchester and Rouen, ought to rouse the peoples of France and England to the value of Mexico as an independent and flourishing country: for if they do not in a very few months so ordain

matters as to secure the independence of Mexico, the whole will as certainly be in the hands of the Southern States, and become a gigantic slave State, as any political proposition that was ever broached.

The *population* of Mexico * is estimated usually at about seven and eight millions; probably incorrectly, as very many lives have been lost lately, both from the internal warfare and Indian aggression. Of these, 4,000,000 are pure Indian indigenes; the rest are of Spanish, or mixed blood. Of course, being the dominant race, they arrogate to themselves the style of *gente de razon*, and, in contradistinction, term the aborigines *gente sin razon*. This population is sparsely scattered over 120,000 square leagues of territory, which gives above sixty individuals to a square league; but by no means evenly, as the denser population is settled chiefly in the central and southern portion of the Republic. All the N. and NW. territory beyond Zacatecas is almost entirely depopulated; and a great portion of it may be truly said to be desert, abandoned to the wild Indians,—savage and nomadic tribes, who are continually driven

* This account differs somewhat from the official returns in Chap. VI., but I am inclined to think is more accurate, being based on Mr. Grant's personal experience of thirty years.

south by the raids from the United States.* The Mexicans have nowhere been able to make head against them, and, in their incursions, they have frequently struck terror into Zacatecas itself, and, in consequence, large and lucrative estates, well cultivated, as well as mines and cattle corrals, have been abandoned to the wild beasts, and still more savage enemies of civilised men. As to the Indian subjects of the republic, they remain in very nearly the same condition as when they were originally reduced into subjection to their masters; but still retaining their old primitive language and habits. They are invariably a very simple and inoffensive order of men, possessing few wants; of a humble superstition, and apathetic character of mind; devoid of any sort of ambition, or apparent anxiety to better their present condition, or improve their national or social position. Altogether, theirs is a very low standard of humanity; nor do their numbers in any way add strength or wealth to the resources of the country. They produce very little beyond their own personal

* Life is utterly insecure in Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, &c.; although both the nature of the soil and its produce, besides the riches of mineral wealth which are known to exist there, point out those countries as most favourable spots for the development of colonisation or immigration.

requirements, and consume little but what they produce. On the other hand, they are eminently docile, and undoubtedly are capable of much amelioration, both physically and intellectually, had they the chance, under other masters and a different *régime*. They do not shun civilisation, or refuse to amalgamate with the whites, as is invariably the case with the fiercer tribes of the northern territories. It is by no means improbable their exclusive and subdued habits and character may be attributable, in a great degree, to the severe rule under which they have so long languished. In many parts of the country, even in the present day, they are harshly, unjustly, and even cruelly oppressed; and where employed in agricultural labour, as is very largely the case, the minimum of pay allowed them—about 13½*d.* a day. Yet, with all these drawbacks, they can work well, and do so, when they have the inducement of kindly treatment and good wages. They are apt, and easily learn most kinds of handicrafts. There is, moreover, a principle in the haciendas of always keeping them in debt, which descends from father to son, so that the labourer can seldom or ever leave a farm; and if they do succeed, there is a combination against their being able to earn an honest livelihood elsewhere. This practice, more than any other, conduces to

their being kept down to their present degraded position of almost servitude.

Of foreigners, the number in the Republic varies from ten to twelve thousand, of whom over one-half are pure Spaniards. The French come next in numerical strength, perhaps to the amount of 2,000 souls ; then British, about 600 ; Yankees, 400 to 500 ; other nations (chiefly German), about 300. There is a great difficulty in exactly ascertaining their numbers, as they do not all take out the *cartas de segurida* required by the Government ; but my inquiries in more than one quarter, where long residence and ample opportunities have given every facility of accuracy, have resulted in the information above given. The population has apparently not increased, either naturally or by immigration ; the very unsettled state of the country, and the absence of all religious toleration, effectually checking the latter ; while the habits and recklessness of life are a satisfactory reason for explaining the other. But if these two disturbing causes were once removed, and effectually, there is certainly every ground to hope that population would rapidly increase. The immense natural resources of a magnificent country would be developed, to the infinite advantage of the inhabitants themselves, while, at the same time,

conferring immense good on the whole civilised world.

Finance.—Of course there has been very considerable discrepancy in the estimates of various ministers, as to the general income of the state; and it has probably, in different years, varied to a considerable extent, but it ranges between \$15,000,000 and \$17,000,000; and in the same way the expenditure has also varied, some putting as high as \$20,000,000, and some as low as \$15,000,000. The actual expenditure* of the year 1856 was given as \$18,287,829, of which, however, \$882,757 do not belong properly to the returns of that year, thereby reducing the figures to \$17,405,072; but, with that exception, I have not been able to fall in with any even tolerably accurate account of the expenditure of the revenue. This revenue is derived chiefly from

* Actual expenses of A. D. 1856 —

War department	\$7,738,778·97
Finance (including interest on debt)	7,710,726·20
Fomento (public works)	211,167·45
Justice	273,598·25
Gobernacion (home)	1,150,750·57
Relaciones (foreign), 1,140,150 less 882,757	257,393
Presidencia	62,657·79

\$17,405,072

the returns of the maritime custom-houses, consisting of importation and exportation duties (the latter almost entirely on silver), producing in all as much as half the whole revenue of the country.

In round numbers we may put it at	\$8,000,000
The interior customs realise in alcabalas—(excise), consumers' duties, &c.	3,500,000
Taxes on real property	1,500,000
Other taxes—stamps, silver duties (mineria), lot- teries, tolls, casas de moneda, &c. &c.	3,000,000
	<u>\$16,000,000</u>

But as these are confessedly collected in a careless and expensive manner, the returns would be immensely increased by a different management.

Firstly, by the suppression of smuggling, which prevails extensively; secondly, by a more strict and effective collection of the various imports of merchandise, which are now in a thousand ways evaded altogether. From the port of Matamoras, opposite the corner of the territory of Texas, we have no returns whatever; that section of the country being in the absolute independent possession of Vidaurri, and under his exclusive rule; while the whole seaboard of the Pacific is plied with contraband commerce, for which there is every facility, and against which there is absolutely no guard whatever. Contraband

goods are smuggled into the country by these means, generally with the connivance of the collector himself; and bullion and specie, to very large amounts, smuggled out. Certain it is, that the whole of this splendid coast yields little or nothing to the revenue, as far as it is known. All the other sources of revenue, such as the monopoly of tobacco, the coinage of silver and gold, &c., have been either sold outright to individuals, or are farmed out to favoured adherents for terms of years, and often upon a payment of rent in advance—a system, the effects of which can be easily recognised.

Expenditure may fairly be classed under the following general heads:—

Army and navy	. . . . .	\$9,000,000
Civil list	. . . . .	4,000,000
Interest on debt and diplomatic conventions	. . . . .	2,500,000
Interest on domestic debt	. . . . .	1,500,000
		<u>\$17,000,000</u>

A decree was passed August 16, 1861, fixing—

Foreign relations	. . . . .	\$ 210,340
Interior	. . . . .	1,191,830
Justice	. . . . .	537,050
Fomento	. . . . .	69,179
Finance	. . . . .	1,573,624
War	. . . . .	4,745,418
		<u>\$8,327,441</u>

And the Minister of Finance reports --

Customs	\$5,500,000
Contributions	400,000
Sealed paper	250,000
District dues	1,200,000
	<u>\$7,350,000</u>

So that annual disbursements exceed the receipts by \$977,418. One fact is abundantly proved — namely, that the annual revenue has never, under any circumstances, kept pace with the annual expenditure. If evidence were wanting of this, we need only look at the continued increase of the public debt, which now amounts to upwards of \$120,000,000; and yet the Government received between the years 1849 and 1854, over and above their actual returns, \$17,000,000 in hard cash for ceded lands—viz., for California \$15,000,000, less \$5,000,000, for claims alleged to be due from the Mexican Government to American citizens; leaving a net balance of \$10,000,000, and \$10,000,000 for the Mesilla territory, out of which \$3,000,000 were retained on the same plea, leaving a balance of \$7,000,000, in all \$17,000,000.

Extraordinary resources. These are also very frequently put in requisition, particularly of late years,

for the purpose of raising supplies ; and consist principally of three sources—

1. Forced loans or contributions.
2. Sale of territory.
3. Sale of church property.

The first is very difficult to be levied to any large amount, and each turn diminishes future supply ; in fact, in practice it is almost inoperative on any large scale on any emergency.

The second is of doubtful application, as the States have of late evinced no desire to *purchase* any more land from the Republic.

The third has not realised anything like what was reasonably expected, or what, if any regular or honest administration had superintended it,—first, because by act of the Parliament three-fifths of the purchase-money is payable in bonos or public bonds, which are rarely worth more than five per cent., and the remaining two-fifths is payable by instalments, which extend over long periods, and are often entirely evaded ; and next, because any amount of speculation and plundering has prevailed among all the parties from the very highest, who have had this tempting source of immense wealth confided to their hands, without any efficient public supervision.

It is certain that Mexico can no longer raise

money by foreign loans — that resource has been closed, and permanently, to all appearance. The successive governments since the declaration of independence have all, without exception, been distinguished by an absence of principle in all engagements with their creditors, and unblushing effrontery in their method of dealing with them. No one can possibly have the slightest faith or confidence in the integrity of any party or government, or even in their stability. Each new cabinet repudiates the engagements of its predecessor, however sacredly they may have been guaranteed, if by any possibility they can evade them. Nor has it made any difference whether nations or individuals have been swindled by their infraction of the most solemn engagements, and even the most violent and burglarious outrages on the common laws of civilised nations. Hence the imperative necessity which has called for the present allied intervention. And yet there is something to be said on the way in which some of the debts have been created. Let us look at the British, first in order and in magnitude.

Mexican bonds.

Capital	.	.	.	.	\$51,208,250
Interest	.	.	.	.	4,608,741
Balance	.	.	.	.	55,816,991

The Mexican account in the books of the Treasury stand thus:—

En pesos a razon decinco per libra esterlina —

Denda	.	.	.	.	\$51,208,250
Interes vencido	.	.	.	.	379,780·20
					<u>\$51,588,030·20</u>

These British claims have undergone every kind of modification to suit the convenience and accommodate the necessities of the Mexican Government. The bondholders have continually conceded and yielded up advantages, under the delusion that their generosity would be appreciated, and insure an honourable and honest observance of new arrangements. But all these natural expectations have been miserably disappointed, and the British creditor finds himself worse off than the citizens of other countries, who have not deserved the same consideration. The London debt originally bore five per cent. interest; they consented to reduce it to three, on a solemn assurance that good faith would be kept in future — an assurance which, of course, has been shamelessly broken by the Mexican Government, with their systematic violation of all their most solemn engagements. The British convention originally bore interest at one per cent., and some

two per cent., per month — the commercial value of money here, and less than the Government paid to others under similar circumstances.

French Claims.—The Emperor's government is totally misled on the subject of the Yekkers bonds, which their embassy are enforcing, and which were the real cause of the rupture. They were a mere speculation from the beginning, in which Miramon, the late president, and Gabriac, the French minister, were the parties interested. The amount is \$15,000,000. The cash paid \$1,200,000.

American Claims.—The debt of Mexico to the citizens of the United States, or supposed to be such, and claimed by the Government of the latter, accumulates in the most extraordinary manner.' In 1850 all was paid off, by \$4,000,000 retained for that special purpose out of the Californian indemnity money. Again all was paid off in 1855, by \$3,000,000 more deducted from the purchase-money of the Mesilla territory. The late President Buchanan, however, in a note to the Mexican minister, informed him that they again amount to \$10,000,000 more, and actually proposed to take military possession of Chihuahua and Sonora to secure them. Now the Americans in

Mexico are fewer in number than any other nation, while their capital and interest are perfectly insignificant, with the exception of the Tehuantepec Road Company: their establishments, either commercial or industrial, are not of any great importance or value. There is no American firm in Mexico, only one at Vera Cruz, none at Tampico or elsewhere, as far as I have been able to ascertain. And yet their claims have far exceeded those of all other foreign nations put together. Just or unjust, however, they have possessed this remarkable advantage over all the others,—that they have always been paid, and in hard cash. As a fair specimen of their character, I will give one claim, with all the circumstances of which I am fully acquainted. A certain Dr. Burr had a mine in Tasco, where he was plundered of thirty or forty fanégas of maize, value \$50 or \$60. On this he swore before the consul a claim for damages, \$1,300,000, and got the United States minister, Gadsden, officially to present it to the Mexican Government, and demand payment. Of course it was rejected with supreme contempt; but it was archived at Washington, and no doubt is ready to be brought forward on occasion, and will be paid. Another of the same class: a certain McCurdy, calling himself major, with sixty or seventy others,

formed a filibustering expedition at San Francisco with a gentleman named Zerman, calling himself admiral. I knew him personally in London. They made a descent on the west coast of Mexico, and were taken prisoners. Instead of shooting the lot, they were released as American citizens, and all have got claims. The admiral's, of course, is worthy of his rank and dignity. A friend of mine was offered the major's. It charged high for 'wounded feelings,' outraged honour, &c. As he was not in affluent circumstances, I think 20*l.* might have bought it. And, moreover, the gallant officer was publicly accused by his companions in misfortune of appropriating to his own use charitable contributions, given for the relief of their common necessities. Yet this claim was sworn and authenticated by Consular Probate, and the United States minister was prepared to give any information or assurance of its legality. It is but due to Mr. Forsyth, that he afterwards confessed he had been cajoled, and regretted the part he took. It suits the American policy to encourage these gentlemen.

The broker who tried to negotiate a loan on Burr's claim published the following account, *the whole of which is pure fabrication*:—

Required for six months the sum of \$1,000. Security

offered — claim of the Pedrigal Mining Company on the Mexican Government, which is supported by the United States.

The claim consists of—

Interest and capital, April 1st, 1857 (ominous day)	. \$ 355,463
Capital, interest, and damages	. . . 4,319,883
	<u>\$4,675,346</u>

To which is to be added for the burning of the mine, destruction of the steam-engine and buildings, on April 30, 1858 —

Actual cost of replacing engine	. . . \$180,000
Timbering the shaft :	. . . 20,000
Hacienda de beneficio (La Luz)	. . . 25,000
Office buildings, wall, &c.	. . . 20,000
	<u>\$245,000</u>

A document which, I think, cannot be paralleled anywhere for fiction.

Factories — At present are cotton, wool, iron, paper, soap, oil, earthenware, glass, sugar, rum, and wine. The cotton factories employ the greatest number of labourers and largest capital. According to a report of the minister, in 1857, there were forty-seven, five of which were idle, twenty were worked by water-power, twenty by horses or mules, and two by manual labour; the number of spindles only amounted to

119,278, and the consumption of raw cotton only 5,000 tons ; and there has been no increase since.

Puebla has the largest share, then Mexico, Jalisco, and Vera Cruz. The articles manufactured are yarns of low class, and a kind of domestic cloth called manta, suitable only to the natives.

The woollen factories are much inferior ; they produce serapes, soldiers' cloths, carpets, &c. ; the raw material is very abundant. Of iron factories there are five ; the same number of glass and earthenware ; but they are none of them in a prosperous or flourishing condition.

Monasteries.—The value of their real property can hardly be estimated accurately ; but besides this they have large investments on mortgage ; and there are very few estates that are not hampered, as money was granted on easy terms : so that the best informed put down their claim upon the entire land of the country as one-third, may fully account for the weapons with which they have been able successfully to defy the adoption of liberal and progressive measures till quite recently.

Real Property.—By a return of the 'Oficio General de Contribuciones' in 1849, there were in the country 13,000 fincas rusticas.

Landed estates valued at	.	.	\$720,000,000
Fincas urbanas	.	.	635,000,000
			<u>\$1,355,000,000</u>

But as this estimate was based on returns collected for purposes of taxation, it is more than probable that it represents a value very much below the real one.

The ecclesiastical property is not less than \$300,000,000, producing an annual income of \$14,000,000 — tithes, dues, fees, sale indulgences, bequests, &c., yielding annually from \$6,000,000 to \$8,000,000 more, or more than a dollar a head for the population — the whole income amounting to \$18,000,000 or \$20,000,000.

The tithes are now not obligatory, but are paid pretty much as formerly, as great spiritual coercion exists all over the country.

In 1852, the clergy, secular and regular, amounted to 4,615. There were fifty-eight nunneries.

Nuns	.	.	.	.	1,484
Girls	.	.	.	.	533
Servants	.	.	.	.	1,260
					<u>3,277</u>
					<u>4,615</u>
					7,892

About one in a thousand of the whole population, including Indians.

When the nationalisation of the ecclesiastical property was imminent, had the clergy party possessed the sagacity to combine in the movement and control it, or the courage to provide with liberality the funds necessary for the carrying on of the Government, they might have fully succeeded in saving their power, and the greater portion of their wealth, and staved off the evil day; but they had neither the sense nor the pluck to make the sacrifice in the first instance: \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000 would have saved them, but they rushed blindly into a deadly struggle, without preparation, without combination, or even calculation of the certain issue; and they fell irretrievably and without a murmur of compassion.

The silver and gold coined in the several mints average annually in round numbers, according to the best authorities —

Silver . . .	16 to 17,000,000	} 17,000,000 to 18,000,000.
Gold . . .	1,000,000	

There is about \$7,000,000 (bullion) shipped from the ports of the Pacific, almost all smuggled. The total amount of produce of precious metals reaches

\$24,000,000 or \$25,000,000, and it is pretty steady. However, it is capable of almost indefinite augmentation, should the country be ever rendered secure and populous, by an improvement in the Government, and the political and social relations with Europe. Many districts of known richness are wholly unworked at present, and many very imperfectly, for want of hands. There has never been any geological survey of any importance—Humboldt being the only scientific man who has given us any account of Mexico. The savage incursions of Indians, the reckless waste of life in robber and partisan warfare, have caused many most profitable undertakings to be abandoned in despair. The supply of silver particularly is unlimited and inexhaustible; this may be considered the metal of the country, and is generally diffused: there is also most excellent iron and copper. The produce of these, together with antimony, cinna-borum, zinc, tin, pure sulphur, salt, &c., may be estimated as at present \$2,000,000: some of the iron is unparalleled in richness, and quite equal to the best Swedish qualities.

Quicksilver is also found, but not in easy districts for transport, so that the exportation has hitherto been small.

Probable yearly export —

	Gold	Silver
Mexico . . .	\$155,263	\$4,013,359
Guanajuato . .	555,200	4,698,800
Zacatecas . .	—	3,619,000
S. Luis Potosi . .	—	1,849,795
Guadalajara . .	10,368	633,662
Durango . .	73,647	609,171
Chihuahua . .	17,536	475,500
Culiacan . .	144,208	737,968
	<u>\$956,222</u>	<u>\$16,637,255</u>

or, \$17,593,477 in the whole amount.

Sinaloa, Sonora, New Mexico, and Coahuila, are almost deserted, from the frightful insecurity of life.

Vera Cruz.—The imports from foreign countries are —

From Great Britain and Ireland.—Cotton, linen, and woollen fabrics; steel, iron, and hardware; tin-plates, earthenware, malt liquors, &c.

United States.—Raw cotton, coarse cotton fabrics, machinery, hardware, drugs, flour, and lard.

France.—Silk, linen, and woollen manufactures, muslins; wines, brandy, liqueurs; oil, paper, jewellery, and fancy goods; porcelain, and preserved provisions.

Hanse Towns.—Linen, cotton, and woollen goods; hardware, glass, and other small articles.

Spain.—Wine, brandy, oil, raisins, wax, cigars, and merchandise known as ‘abarrotés.’

Sardinia.—Paper, raisins, oil, maccaroni, slabs of marble, and other articles of small importance.

Belgium.—Linen and cotton goods; arms, and military stores of all kinds; spirits, bricks, and demi-johns.

Venezuela.—Cocoa, three or four vessels annually.

Exports are specie, cochineal, jalap, vanilla, sarsaparilla, tobacco, indigo, and hides. A considerable quantity of dollars are smuggled here, to avoid the heavy export duty of sixteen per cent. The whole amount may be fairly estimated at \$9,000,000. There is a good coasting trade, in vessels of thirty to 100 tons, who carry out the foreign merchandise, and return with cocoa, salt, aguardiente, sugar, tobacco, and hides.

Vera Cruz has an area of 3,813 square leagues, and a population of 300,000. Its principal cities are roughly estimated:—

Vera Cruz	.	.	.	9,000
Orizaba	.	.	.	15,000
Cordova	.	.	.	4,500
Jalapa	.	.	.	6,000

There are no towns of size on the coast, the largest being Alvarado, with 2,000 inhabitants, mostly employed in fishing.

Vera Cruz is the most important Mexican port, and its harbour, though far from safe or commodious, is the channel of very considerable trade with the United States and Europe. In 1858 there entered —

	Vessels	Tons	Crew
American . .	32	7,389	274
British . . .	20	3,676	197
French . . .	19	5,448	296
Spanish . . .	13	2,591	158
Hanseatic . .	5	748	45
Belgian . . .	2	398	18
Danish . . .	5	596	44
Sardinian . .	3	690	35
Hanoverian . .	3	484	26

This return does not include the monthly British or the American steamers, which touch here: the former bring principally passengers, the latter cargoes of cotton, &c. The revenues of the customs are about \$4,000,000; more than three-quarters pledged for payment of foreign creditors of the nation; the rest is mortgaged over and over again to the foreigners and natives—some \$2,000,000 of orders being now in what is called *via de pago*.

Foreign Trade.—The Pacific coast gives no returns. Vera Cruz imports \$3,000,000, mostly British

goods, and exports about \$6,000,000, including specie; but as we know there is an outward flow of \$22,000,000 or \$23,000,000 of specie and bullion (allowing \$2,000,000 to be retained for the use of the country itself), and also an export of cochineal, vanilla, jalap, indigo, sarsaparilla, mahogany, dye-woods, hides, and pimento, to the value of at least \$6,000,000 more (in all about \$28,000,000 or \$29,000,000), it is clear that there must be an importation to nearly the same value. Part of the specie, perhaps, is absorbed—i.e., sent to Europe, for saving or investment, and so withdrawn from mercantile calculation; but this cannot exceed one and a half or \$2,000,000 at the outside; for the remaining \$26,000,000 or \$27,000,000 are received back in merchandise, consisting chiefly of manufactured cottons, cloths, linens, silks, wines, liquors, steel, paper, hardware, raw cotton, machinery, and wax, in something like these proportions:—

Europe	20,000,000
United States	4,500,000 to 5,000,000
Cuba, Venezuela, and Peru	1,000,000 to 1,500,000
	<u>\$26,500,000</u>

There may also come small returns from Asia, the coast of China, the Philippines, &c. &c., but not much.

There used formerly to be a contraband trade with China to the port of San Blas; but it is of late declined to almost nothing. A large part of the British trade is in the hands of Germans.

Vessels entered at the different ports last year: —

ATLANTIC.

	Number	Average Tons
Vera Cruz . . .	156	350
Tampico . . .	53	146
Tabasco . . .	30	137
Isla Carmen . . .	48	128
Campeche . . .	24	123
Sisal . . .	27	140
Matamoras . . .	No returns	

PACIFIC.

	Number	Average Tons
Mazatlan . . .	31	230
S. Blas . . .	22	270
Mazanillo . . .	12	230
Guagmes . . .	12	240
Acapulco . . .	68	1,320*
Lapaz (Lower California) . .	1	130

The British trade returns do not give any reliable statement of their commerce with Mexico. Vessels clear out from British ports (principally Liverpool), and proceed with fictitious destinations, in order to conceal their true one (the Pacific coast) more

* This is either an error, or it includes the American steamers.

effectually from the Mexican consul. Of course they smuggle the goods in.*

The import trade is in the hands of Germans and British, who deal in Manchester, Glasgow, and Belfast goods; French and Spaniards, in their own produce. The whole coast is well adapted for cotton growing; but such is the dearth of labour, that out of the 110,000 quintals required annually, about forty are imported from the United States. The state could also supply, in any quantity, sugar, coffee, tobacco, aguardiente, maize, and every other tropical product; but the total want of roads renders all plans of export trade impracticable.

The waters teem with excellent fish, which, were the rail carried farther into the interior, where such a luxury is unknown, would form a considerable trade,—only six boats being now employed; and these abundantly supply the local market.

BRITISH CONVENTION.

About half of the present debt is composed of Bonos of tobacco duty, the interior debt and Padre

* A friend of mine saw lately, in the Pacific ports, twenty large English merchantmen unloading, not one of whom was cleared for Mexico, but mostly for San Francisco, or other ports. Not one of them paid a farthing to the Mexican treasury.

Moran's. This at two and a half interest can be paid off at Vera Cruz in three years, with a six per cent. stock and guarantee of a sure government; a fund to pay this ought to be ninety to ninety-five per cent.

The sum originally entered in the convention as owing to *British* subjects, viz. \$3,462,000, was not worth \$207,720, and could be bought at that price now. Yet the convention is charged with considerably more than \$1,000,000, so that the owners of the \$207,720 of tobacco and interior credits must have been marvellously aided to get such a position.

The history of the case stands thus:—In June 1839, a contract was made with Government for *farming* the tobacco revenues by Benito, Magua, Cayetano, Rubio Manuel Escandon, and Felipe Neri del Barrio. In 1841, this speculation was not in a flourishing condition, and the Government took back the contract, which was not a brilliant bargain, as they bought cigarette packets at eleven cents to sell them a six. The government paid the company no less than \$1,768,032 in cash, and 5,000,000 in paper, known as Bonos of the tobacco enterprise. A law was passed consolidating this and other funds into one, and twenty-five per cent. of the products of the maritime custom houses was assigned for payment.

Afterwards the per centage was increased to twenty-six, and for some years money was paid, perhaps, to the extent of eleven per cent. Now in course of time the house of Martinez del Rio Hermanos became possessed of 2,700,000 of these credits. M. del Rio Hermanos informs us in a pamphlet of 1855, 'The supreme Government in the 13th clause of the agreement, which by its orders was drawn up by the public treasury of Mexico, in presence of Notary D. Manuel Orihualo, on June 13th, 1842, in order to obtain the revision of the contract, declared that the company can freely endorse, transfer, and give as guarantee the bonds, which in conformity with this agreement will be crossed to them, and the person or persons into whose hands they may pass shall be recognised as having the same right and the same share in the enterprise, as if the contract had been celebrated with them, &c., &c., from the express tenour of which, it is evident that the rights and shares in a Mexican enterprise cannot be converted into rights and shares in an English one, without remaining counter, not only to law, but common sense. Nor can the privileges of a Mexican enterprise, transferred to an English house, be the subject of the protection of the British Government. Otherwise it would be sufficient for a Frenchman,

an Englishman, and a Spaniard, to buy up together at the current price any amount of the various denominations of public funds, to call on the Governments to exact immediate payment, and an amortization of the custom houses. They might with the greatest ease get a decision in their favour at any court of justice in Mexico; but I doubt whether any embassy would recognise the transaction. And yet the case is the same here—the house of Martinez del Rio Hermanos acquired the same rights conceded to the Mexicans, and had to submit to the same consolidation as other Mexican holders of funds, to the extent of 12,000; yet the house did not, but appealed as bondholders to the supreme court, and got a sentence—no difficult matter—but a sentence against the law of the land, which ordained that a certain class of credits should have assigned for their payment a certain specified fund, with such augmentations as might indemnify the holders for loss. Yet the house, having a sentence against Mexico generally, presented themselves to the English minister, and demanded their Mexican bonds should be made English property, and made the subject of a British convention; *and it was done*, December 1857. The Government paid up \$411,000 interest, and the credits \$973,000. A Spanish affair of Padre Moran

and another of Montgomery, Nicol & Co., were added. Then, and since then, as much as would make up \$1,000,000 additional has been paid; yet on the 4th December, 1860, it stands as \$5,000,000, and is so claimed in the convention.

At the present moment the English interest in the convention is \$266,000. Take the money robbed from the Laguna Seca Conducta, that robbed from H.B.M.'s legation, the Guadalajara Conducta, and the *Consumo* duty reclamation, and a few other fair claims, and we have \$2,000,000, or \$2,500,000.

Montgomery, Nicol, & Co. — Martinez, the late treasurer for collecting revenues, paid this house, in conjunction with several Mexicans and Spaniards, dividends on sums loaned, say, two million dollars, to the Government. Soon after St. Anna overthrew it, and, as dictator, refused to fulfil the contract, and peremptorily stopped legal proceedings in the supreme court in direct contravention of our treaty. Lord Aberdeen ordered that reparation should be demanded, and that portion of the *bonâ fide* English property claimed. This amount was something less than one million, and the rest was of course excluded. This was in June 1844. It was arranged by Mr. Stephen Miller, who is now in London. What is the amount of the claim now?—

About three millions. In point of fact, the working and growth of some of these Mexican claims, which are now advanced under the sanction of the British flag, is most mysterious and inexplicable, and quite as much disgraceful and disreputable to us as a nation.

No accounts have ever been rendered, though frequently demanded; and I am requested to publish one which was treated, like all others, with perfect silence. I presume, from what I know personally of both the auditor and his correspondent, this was done by superior orders, as a more upright man Mr. Glennie does not exist.

British Convention Fund.

Mexico, January 31, 1861.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch of the 12th instant; and on the 23rd I received copy of the minute of the meeting of the proprietors held in Her Majesty's legation on the 15th June last.

Without entering into any polemical discussion on points of no value or importance, and which only divert attention from the main question, I submit that, as auditor of this fund, you have at all times access to the accounts and archives thereof, and can demand and compel any information required; or you may extract it yourself from these archives, or appoint a deputy to do so, without asking any one's permission; the archives are common property.

I further submit that the proprietors, or any one of them, ought, in like manner, to have access to all accounts and documents connected with the revenues of this fund, and especially of the disposal of those revenues.

I am myself the treasurer of a public fund, and I furnish accounts of my transactions every half year *unsolicited*, and present a copy to each of the parties interested. They are further invited to inspect all the books, accounts, and correspondence connected therewith, at any day and hour they please; and at all meetings I present those books and correspondence for general inspection and examination.

Our British convention fund *should be conducted in the same upright and honourable manner.* . . .

I deny emphatically, and reject with scorn, the idea that has been put forth, that secrecy and mystery of any kind are necessary, either as respects British interests or the British Government. All such secrecy and mystery implies something opprobrious and offensive, and is in itself an imputation and slur on our national honour.

The management of this fund, like all other British funds, should be in conformity with our universal polity and practice, *open to inspection—frank and aboveboard*; and the very exertions and efforts made in this case to stifle inquiry, or *furnish accounts of the moneys recovered*, are in themselves a strong and imperative reason for enforcing that inquiry. Truth and honour love open dealing; and truth and honour are the only principles that can be recognised in the management of a British Government fund.

This fund, therefore, being a Government convention,

and under the especial protection and control of officers of the crown, it is their province and duty to institute inquiry into the management thereof, when accounts are *systematically withheld* and *refused*, and complaints of maladministration and misapplication of the revenues have been laid before them; and I enclose for your information on this head a copy of my reply to a circular, issued by Her Majesty's legation on the subject in May last year.

The management of this fund, I repeat, has been, and is, a source of scandal and reproach to the British name; and in no other part of the world would such abuses have been tolerated by representatives of the Crown.

I recollect the day in Mexico when men would not have *dared* to act as these men have acted, or they would have been suspended *instantly*. Where now is that high consideration and commanding influence which a British minister formerly inspired? the just tribute to a lofty sense of honour that chilled and awed the boldest, and kept in check their evil propensities? Where now that exalted sense of personal and national dignity which shrunk from baseness and defilement as from the leprosy? — gone — departed — fled — banished — alike from our conduct and from our councils. The decay of virtue in late years among British officials in Mexico, and descending from them, contaminating their countrymen generally, strikes even the natives with astonishment, and is deplorable, humiliating, and appalling. They countenance crime; they frequently aid it: none seem to have the moral courage to oppose and repress it; some even seem

to delight in it and participate in it. The wave rolls onward, acquiring additional force with every surge, till we have seen a British convention fund robbed publicly in the face of day, and the victims insulted and defied.

I therefore cannot admit, and do not accept, the limited interpretation of your functions as auditor, to which it is the design of Mr. Matthew and the treasurers of this fund, to confine them: still less can I accept, as a reason for not furnishing the information required, *the objections of the parties implicated* — such a reason not only being injudicial, but singularly irrational. They always have refused, always will refuse; and it is because they have refused and do refuse to act like honourable and honest men, that appeal has been made for redress to Her Majesty's Government, and that you have been appointed auditor. They oppose, as a matter of course: it is our duty to enforce. If the management has been honourable, what have they to fear? Their exculpation will in such case be triumphant. We ask for nothing but that which ought to have been granted *without* asking. Men of honour court inquiry; knaves alone shun and resist it; virtuous men enforce it. Englishmen, in their place, would have *demand*ed it long ago.

I therefore again urge on you the necessity of furnishing the information required by my despatch of 11th September, and likewise inspection of the accounts and archives of the fund, all of which are at your command. A report also by yourself of the fund *ab initio* would be a graceful and customary inauguration of your appointment.

Your course is clear, straightforward, and honourable;

the limitation is *dishonourable*, and betrays a consciousness of wrong. Is there a conspiracy to protect guilt, and defeat the ends of justice?

As auditor of that fund, as an officer of the Crown, and as an *Englishman*, I call upon you to do your duty fearlessly and unflinchingly, undeterred by corrupt counsels or vicious influences, and show the world that British honour and British probity are not myths; that they are still realities, though long abject and in abeyance. I call upon you also to open up for inspection this mysterious and disreputable fund, and enforce payment of the balance of the dividend of the 12th May, 1859, and thus rescue the honour of our country, now prostrate at the feet of unprincipled aliens. I call upon you in the name of the British Government, whose protection has been abused and whose confidence has been betrayed; I call upon you in the name of the British nation, whose honour stands basely outraged; and I call upon you in the name of those sacred and immutable principles of truth and justice, which neither Governments nor individuals can infringe without a stigma.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) ALEXANDER GRANT.

F. GLENNIE, Esq.,

Auditor of the British Convention Fund.*

I enclose the original paper, sent to me by the treasurers of this fund, with the remnant of my dividend of the 12th of May, 1859; and I demand payment of the balance of that dividend,—say \$1,215. I also enclose the protest by Notary Madariaga.

* This officer is appointed by the British minister accredited to Mexico.

HISTORY OF THE COPPER BONDS.

The old copper currency was removed from circulation by a decree of the Mexican Government, dated the 24th March, 1841, which guaranteed to holders reimbursement in new coin within six months. Certificates of deposit were given to those who, in accordance with this law, delivered up their money.

Instead of recoinng the old copper, and thus paying the holders of the certificates of deposit, as had been guaranteed, the Mexican Government sold the metal of the old coin when it was melted.

Thus being unable to comply with the pledge made, the Mexican Government, by a decree dated the 11th July, 1842, assigned for the payment of the holders of the copper certificates the products of the stamped paper; and by decrees of the following year gave, as additional security for the repayment of funds thus appropriated, a mortgage upon the waste lands of the nation, not situated on the frontier, as also certain credits denounced previous to the independence.

In fulfilment of these pledges the Mexican Government, on the 9th December, 1843, decreed the suspension of the circulation of the old depositors' certificates, and ordered the General Treasury to substitute them by bonds, payable to bearer, having inserted the pledges made for the benefit of this credit, and bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum from the 1st of January, 1844.

As the decree of the 11th July, 1842, had created a Special Board of Creditors for the copper, who were to

administer the revenues of the stamped paper assigned to them, this Board continued to exercise its functions of collecting and distributing these funds amongst the creditors up to the 30th November, 1850.

On that day Señor Payno, then Minister of Finance, gave a decree that most unrighteously despoiled the holders of copper bonds of the funds that had been so sacredly guaranteed them, and which they had so long enjoyed. By this decree it was ordered that the copper bonds should be incorporated into the Consolidated National Debt.

Against this faithless act of the Mexican Government there was a universal protest, and the French Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Lavesseur, finding a large number of his countrymen were sufferers, made every effort to procure redress for this act of spoliation. He ultimately succeeded, on the 30th June, 1853, in concluding with the Mexican Government a convention for the benefit of French holders, which convention has since been paid off.

Robbers.—I regret to say the temporary lull in highway robbery has passed; and every highway and byeway leading out of the city swarms with banditti. The ransom system is coming more and more in vogue. Two days ago a train of pulque coming into the place was captured by a gang of rogues well known, who now hold sway over a large tract of country; they are headed by one Antonio Perez, an old and well-known thief. The murderers

of Yorke, the young American *attaché*, are perfectly well ascertained citizens resident in Tepeyahualco. The man killed by him was buried in sacred ground. The wounded robber is also well known, and the accomplices are all marked men in that favourite den of thieving — the plain of Perote. The civil power has no force. The thieves represent a large majority of the industrial classes in that quarter.

Mr. Mathew's residence in Mexico was forcibly taken possession of on the 16th November, 1860, by General Lagarde, by order of General Marquez, under a pretence, the falsehood and absurdity of which must be notorious, that a deposit of arms was concealed; and on the 17th, by an armed force under Colonel Jauregui, the premises secured under the official seal were broken open by workmen employed for the purpose; and property placed there by him at the request of the agent for the English bondholders, carried off, to the amount of \$660,000.

On Friday July 4th, 1861, the small garrison of Pachuca being attacked, and losing their second in command, retired on Real del Monte, where they made a stand; but ultimately fled. Barbarities were committed on the English residents by the clerical party troops: Doctor Griffin, an old and peaceable resident, was struck over the face with a

sabre ; the houses were pillaged, and even the clothes taken off the women's backs. On the night of the 26th, the village of Tacubaya, only one league from the city of Mexico, was sacked. For three hours the house of Mr. Grant was besieged, the troops keeping up a constant fire, but providentially did not succeed in forcing the gates. They returned on the 30th, and nearly gutted the house : fortunately Mr. Grant had removed his family in the meantime.

On the 27th they attacked the paper factory at Belen. The director, an Englishman, defended the premises, killed two men and wounded several, and fortunately had time to escape before a larger force came up and destroyed everything. On the 27th, Lient. Dye, United States army, killed two robbers on the spot and beat off eight others ; at Rio Frio, Messrs. Dye and Halley, United States, state that near the hacienda of S. Diego del Pinal, in the plain of Perote, they jumped out of the diligence, one on each side ; they were at once abandoned by the rest of the passengers, who ran to the robbers ; firing commenced on both sides, and a Frenchman was wounded at the commencement ; they had no support from any one, but kept up the contest for an hour, and finally the robbers retreated, after making several charges, which were successively repulsed. Once one of them came

on Mr. Dye with his carbine pointed, but received a charge of buckshot in his face, and fell dead from his horse; Mr. Dye received a slight wound, but Halley had not a scratch. They left four men and seven horses dead on the ground, and eight were severely wounded. After the struggle, the United States men went to the hacienda to get aid for the wounded Frenchmen, and to bind up Mr. Dye's wound, and met with the most barbarous incivility. No linen or cloth of any kind was given them, and they were obliged to walk on all the way to the next post of the diligence before they could procure any aid for their badly wounded fellow-traveller.

July 6th.—At 11 P.M., a force of twenty or more horsemen, armed and with a trumpet, came into Naples, and made a descent on the house of Mr. Beale. All the inmates were in bed. Mr. Beale got up, and rousing Mrs. Wylee, an old lady staying in his house, took her to the roof for safety. He then opened the front door unarmed, and told the robbers that his house was at their mercy, but prayed them to spare the lives of his establishment, as he had never taken any side or political bias, and therefore ought to have no enemies. They told him he was a foreigner, and as such their enemy, and fell upon him, and literally cut him to pieces: the head was

split open by two sabre wounds, he had four gun-shot wounds on the breast, both arms and thighs were disfigured by gashes in the most horrible manner. The victim to this atrocity was an old man of remarkably peaceful and charitable character. He is known never to have even expressed an opinion on the parties of the Mexican civil war; and he maintained at his own cost a number of orphan children, who will bitterly lament his loss.

On August 3rd the diligence from Pachuca brought in two passengers—one young Englishwoman of twenty-four, dead, and the other a Frenchman, dying in great agony. At Ozambilla eight robbers suddenly, and without a moment's warning, fired into the interior and shot Mrs. Chawner through the back, across the knees of her husband, who fortunately killed instantly with his pistol one of the assassins; the others, after a dozen more shots, which happily took no effect, abandoned the attack.

August 11th, 1861.—A Frenchman was assaulted in the San Francisco early in the evening; fortunately he warded off the first blow with an umbrella, which was nearly cut through the stick; a second blow inflicted a severe wound in his wrist, but he managed to escape. It is needless to say no arrest was made; indeed one of the oldest residents here told me he never re-

membered a criminal process urged by a foreigner — the course being that about two or three months are consumed in examinations and depositions, for which a large sum is demanded ; then, perhaps, the prisoner is sentenced, while the whole of the goods stolen are detained as *corpus delicti*, and never appear again ; then the prisoner appeals, and more money is exacted, and the prosecutor, disgusted, does not defend the appeal, and usually, after all his expense and trouble, has to pay the prisoner a sum of money to compromise an attack on his unblemished character, which he had not dared to prosecute on appeal.

August 26th. — The past week furnished two instances of the barbarity of the robbers. Two of the public stages arrived in this city, with the passengers stark naked, and some of them females, who were obliged to borrow blankets to roll around them. The mails to the interior are all stopped.

Mr. Burnard, in 1852, erected a manufactory on a very extensive scale, and just got into working order when the whole premises were taken possession of by S. Anna ; and it was not till 1856 the property was restored, but in so dilapidated and ruinous a condition, that it was two years before he could put it into such repair as to recommence work. In March

1860, the factory was sacked by troops; and on the 2nd of April another body entered at night, inflicted sixteen sabre wounds upon Mr. Burnard, broke three ribs, and left him for dead; they then utterly destroyed the factory. But, though his left arm was amputated, he lived. His wife lost her senses, and his daughter is incapacitated from epileptic fits. He has been reduced to almost utter destitution.

On September 27th the diligence was robbed in front of Santa Maria, within the walls of the city.

At Guanajuato, an Englishman named Cuming was just getting into bed, his family and wife being luckily absent, when ten men got over the wall and tied the servants: they knocked at the bed-room door, saying they were police, looking for an escaped offender; he knew them, and got his arms ready, and when they broke in with axes and crowbars, fired at the first who entered; after a fight of some minutes he dashed out on them into the passage, and they ran. He found fourteen bullets in the room, and only one in the passage, so that of eight he fired seven took effect; two bodies were found afterwards.

Now during the past eight months we have sufficient examples to prove the systematised hatred to foreigners which exists; for instance, the murderous attack on Captain Aldham, and the family of the

British Consul; the assault on the Prussian Secretary, Baron Wagner; and innumerable night robberies in Mexico. Let us take the English alone. 'On January 20th, Isaac Cask was murdered in the street. On the 6th July, Henry M. Beale, murdered in his house at Naples. On 5th April, Stephen Bennett, murdered in his house at Pachuca, and now his daughter, Mrs. Chawner.'

Here these startling events create but a momentary interest in the legations. Questions of the rights of Sisters of Charity, the clamorous demands of greedy speculators, occupy their high diplomatic attention, and drown the wail of the widow and the orphan.

The lists of claims for outrages on British subjects present such a frightful catalogue of murder and robbery that, except vouched for on the most solemn and sure grounds, would be utterly incredible. Justice here has indeed leaden feet. Some small show of inquiry, and incessant persecution of witnesses, and never-ending expenses, ending in a mockery of investigation and total impunity of crime, are generally the utmost attained.

All the surrounding country is given up to rapine and murder: the haciendas are going to ruin. They are deserted by their proprietors and their families,

who pay black mail to the robbers to allow their carts to bring in the produce, but who dare not trust their lives upon their property.

The Army.—The army varies, of course, very considerably, according to circumstances: each of the late contending parties vaunt the number and strength of their own, and underrate that of their adversaries. Again, little or nothing is known of Vidaurri's or other independent troops in the north; but the whole number of men under arms in Mexico can not be set down at less than 20,000 to 25,000 men; though some well-informed authorities rate it higher.

The service is compulsory, and recruited by forced enlistment. The pay is bad, and very uncertain; the training hitherto very poor and scanty, so that the troops have neither interest nor heart in the service, and no care for the contentions which disturb the country. In general they are profoundly ignorant of the matters in dispute, or what they are fighting for. They invariably seize the first favourable opportunity to desert; and as they cannot return to the cities, or their homes, for fear of being recognised and apprehended, they take to the highway; hence the numerous well-armed bands of robbers that infest the country on all the roads. They become

soldiers by compulsion and banditti by necessity, and seldom return to any peaceful avocation. The army is a nursery for highwaymen, and is the chief source of the general demoralisation which is unhappily becoming more and more prevalent in Mexico. It lets loose on society annually a fresh crop of malefactors, and, as they are seldom prosecuted and punished, of course their numbers are rapidly increasing. Of course they are mostly cavalry, and after their comparative failure against the American forces, armed with rifles, they will never be brought again to face an enemy. The officers have been as yet all miserably deficient in the first elements of their profession, and in the Yankee war showed gross cowardice. The men behaved much better, and stood their ground, even when deserted by their officers; but they will not again face regular troops—on the contrary, both army and people would welcome any force but Spaniards. My informant was present at every battle in 1847—Coatrevas, Churubusco, Moleno del Rey, Chapultepec, and had a great opinion of the raw material of the Mexican troops. They never ran till deserted by their officers, whose military tactics were below contempt. Worth, the American General, said, ‘This work is sickening—they are not worth beating—there is no glory in it.

It is like the Chinese.' They are generally good, hardy, and well-built young men, of middle size, excellent horsemen, and some infantry regiments I saw — perhaps six — very well disciplined.

For the last week, previous to my leaving, bodies of men kept continually arriving from the interior, and were armed and forwarded to the frontier. As usual, the Government were not particular about the manner in which they procured arms, and 'occupied' all they could get by stratagem or force. One French gun-maker had 2,000 rifles taken bodily from his store, for which he only got an order on the treasury, which was worth about twenty-five per cent. of its real value: so he put his rifles up the other seventy-five per cent. in price and squared it; but he will be twelve or eighteen months before he is fully paid. •

Zaragosa, the Minister at War, threw up his seals of office, and marched at the head of 3,000 men out of the city on December 21st, amid a most wild enthusiasm of the whole population. The women and children spat as they spoke of the Gachupinos, and, for a wonder, there was no lack of recruits.

The new Prime Minister, Doblado, was indefatigable, and pressed forward arms, munitions, and men, as fast as the perfectly empty state of the

treasury allowed. The reactionary officers took ready advantage of the amnesty, and I met personally several whose names, not being palatable to the Mexican Liberals, were prudently concealed. They seemed, generally, of a much better class than the regular officers, but were sadly out of luck, having been hunted in the mountains for some months. They all described their cause as lost, and their troops as fast degenerating into mere brigands.

The army has been till lately not only useless as an arm of defence, but a direct source of evil to the well-being and prosperity of the country, and the cause of the worst social evils. A poor, peaceable man is kidnapped away from his home, and forced into the ranks, which he detests, and perhaps has to leave his wife to starve or worse. What wonder he deserts, and is a lost man. And thus a good citizen is summarily converted into an outcast and a scoundrel, and his wife and children into paupers. It is almost surprising there are not more. They care nothing about their leaders. They know foreigners to be more just in their dealings, and less exacting, than their own countrymen.

The Yankees even got all sorts of supplies readily from the country people as soon as it was known they paid for them, and consequently they were far better

off than the national army who did not. There is one point I can not help remarking: the Yankee army were all efficiently clothed and victualled — no top-heavy head gear — no stiff stocks or tight trousers — to impede the natural motions of the head and the free use of their limbs. Jonathan knows the value of a man, black or white, keeps his physical energies up to the mark, and gives them full play when he requires their highest exertion. The men were there to fight, not to carry baggage—that was all done for them in light wagons; their powers were economised and their comforts consulted; every company had a cook with a battery of utensils, handy ovens for meat, &c. When a man came off duty he found a comfortable and excellent meal and carefully arranged quarters;—no meanness or screwing—no dirty deductions from pay;—they were treated generously and fairly by the nation they fought for. They also invariably avoided keeping prisoners: these they disarmed and dismissed, with an oath not to serve again — a very unnecessary ceremony, as the poor devils were only too glad to get away.

While France for the informal execution for brigandage of two of her subjects taken with arms in their hands, and for \$500,000 due from Mexico to Frenchmen, took the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, England with

a list of diplomatic demands for the murder of twenty-six of her subjects, peaceable and industrious inhabitants of the country, and for a pecuniary obligation amounting to \$80,000,000, has never once struck a blow against the independent pride of the country; and she has now chosen her associates, her time, and her claims equally unfortunately. For Mexico can very well say:—Take from the British convention the tobacco and the interior credits, which certainly have no business to be there, and in fact were allowed insertion by the most disgraceful jobbery, and you will find that the 25 per cent. of import duties set aside for the purpose of paying English reclamations, will suffice to cover all our legitimate debts to you.

The Colony of Tcaltepec lies not far distant from the skirts of the Cordillera, situated by the river Nautla, which flows through groves of mahogany, cedar, vanilla, and other equally rich specimens of the vegetable kingdom. We reached the white straw-covered houses, roofed with slate or flat tiles—green Venetian blinds and glazed windows giving the highest idea of industry and civilisation.

It was founded by a Frenchman in 1830, and has continually increased and flourished. The lands about it are surprisingly fertile and well-watered by the

Nautla. In some of the dry channels soil is found twenty to twenty-two varas.

Its principal production is tobacco, in which most, if not all, the inhabitants deal; drawing also a considerable quantity from the Vegas del Pital, and all along the banks of the river. They also produce indigo, coffee, cocoa, and vanilla, in large quantities. The situation lies at a short elevation above the level of the sea; but the temperature is variable: at dawn the thermometer stands at 70° or 80°, at mid-day 90° or 92°.

Iron is also found; but, being in general far from the roads, cannot be brought to market to pay; and as by them also coal must be brought for smelting, it has been found more profitable to import it.



CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNEY FROM MEXICO TO VERA CRUZ.

ABOUT 1 o'clock A.M. all our escort, consisting of twenty-two light dragoons, well armed and well mounted, with an exceedingly well-bred and gentlemanly young lieutenant, arrived at our door, where my good friends, Plumb, the *attaché* of the American legation, and D'Oleire, Prussian Consul at Vera Cruz, had stored the diligence with ample provision for the journey. We were armed to the teeth, and our principal fear was that we should shoot each other in the tumbling and jolting to which the awful state of the roads was sure to subject us. The outskirts of the city being wholly unlighted, our lamp, in passing, flashed upon some curious scenes as we passed by; but we cleared the Garita, and dashed out on the causeway in a most gallant style. Our first halt was at Ayutla, where we had to expend half an

hour in waking the fresh escort, which was to carry us on, and to procure a relay of mules. The centre of the street was blocked up by a mass of carros, or long wagons, underneath which, wrapped in serapes, snored, promiscuously heaped together, the arrieros in charge; a smouldering fire just preserved embers enough to light our cigars—a luxury we appreciated, as it was bitter cold. The mules being ready before the escort, our coachman mounted the box, and drove us to the other end of the village, where, fortunately, our friend the lieutenant and his orderly came galloping up, and with drawn swords compelled the cochero to stop, for at that moment there issued from a side lane about twenty as truculent-looking ruffians as a peaceful traveller would wish to see. In answer to our lieutenant, they said they were the Banda, or night-watch; but as, the night after, Count Lalande, Secretary of the French Legation, was robbed on precisely the same spot by gentlemen whom he accurately described to me, and who marvellously resembled the Banda *soi-disant* in numbers, dress, and general appearance, *I calculated*, with Mr. Plumb, that they combined other duties with their night-watch. Our escort soon arrived, and by daylight we were gallantly ascending a steep road which passes over the ledge of the Istaccihuatl,

and reached the valley of Rio Frio about 8 o'clock A.M., where an excellent breakfast awaited us, and where we found Señor Roldan, with twenty fine young fellows, expecting our arrival, having marched from San Martino over night, by order of the Governor of Puebla, to meet us.

Roldan was a fine specimen of the irregular cavalry leader, or guerillero; though grey, and inclined to be stout, he sat his horse with perfect ease, and even elegance. He wore the usual round leather ranchero jacket, red sash around his middle, and his untanned leather trousers were worn open up to the hips, to let the breeze swell out his snow-white muslin canzoncillas; mounted on a strong, well-knit roan horse, perfectly broken to the bit, his erect figure fixed in the saddle like a monument, his toes just resting in the stirrup, and the parti-coloured serape flowing becomingly over his left shoulder, his swarthy face glowing with honest pride from under his wide-brimmed grey felt hat, set jauntily on one side: the *tout ensemble* of man and horse formed a picture of ease and democratic freedom rarely to be seen, except in the wide pampas of La Plata.

The ice had formed one-eighth of an inch in thickness over the pools, and a grey rime covered every object not touched by the sun — fully justifying the

name of Rio Frio, by which this district is known. It is covered with dense pine forests, affording occupation to numberless charcoal-burners ; while the frequent recurrence of crosses on the road-side, marking the sites of assassination, showed it had other more dangerous denizens. Thanks to Roldan, however, and his men, we passed safe ; but poor Lalande, next day, had the remnants spared by the robbers at Ayutla stripped from him, and stood shivering in his drawers a whole hour, while the ruffians were being dissuaded from their determined purpose of hanging him as a spy by the cochero, who asserted he was an *employé* of the diligence, and that his death would have the effect of stopping the running of public vehicles, so that they would have no travellers to rob — an *argumentum ad pecuniam* which had its due weight ; and they released him, nearly naked. We, however, passed on unconscious, and arrived at San Martino, expecting a fresh escort ; none such, however, appeared ; and as a young man walked into the town while we were waiting, with a nasty sabre-cut on his right arm, freshly inflicted by five banditti, who had robbed him on the highway of his horse and saddle-bags a few miles from the town, Roldan and ten of his freshest men volunteered to carry us on to Puebla, which they actually did, keeping pace with

the diligence, although we had fresh relays of twelve mules every five leagues — thus accomplishing a journey of twenty-seven leagues, the greater part of which was performed under the heat of a noon-day tropical sun.

Our good friends, the ladies of Puebla, received us with more than wonted hospitality, and till late at night we lounged in the flower-girt corridor of my excellent friend, Señor Teruel, describing our adventures to his amiable lady, and answering the never-ending questions of his lovely daughters on the latest fashions of the capital.* At 4 A.M. we started

* *A Tertulla*. — We entered by a wide portal into the patio, and by a long flight of stone stairs passed into a gallery, which ran round the first floor, and was covered with glass. All the rooms were thrown open. The front suite consisted of three rooms, splendidly furnished with every luxury, and brilliantly lighted. Here we found the ladies seated. The music soon called us, and we danced quadrilles and waltzes till 1.30, when an excellent supper was served. The ices and sherbet were of the best quality; but I observed every one of the gentlemen on leaving buckled on a revolver round his waist, which told its own tale, though the night watchmen's lanterns gleam on the pavement every 200 yards in the centre of the city.

A group of loiterers, lounging in every attitude round the scene of preparations, gazed with stupid pleasure upon our gallant equipage; a dozen lightly-clad ladies, with heads enveloped in mantillas, peered from the surrounding balconies, as if exchanging silent good-byes with departing good friends; all were sedate and impassive. There were twenty caballeros mounted on costly stallions, each worth \$150; the trappings were silver-mounted, and some of the bridles and headstalls adorned with plates of virgin silver, hammered flat, and

again in our leathern basket, escorted by about twenty of the wildest-looking Mamelukes I ever saw, but their captain was as polished a gentleman as could be met with in the *salons* of the Tuileries. Our route lay over dangerous ground—the scene of a hard fight the day before between my good friend, Couttolene, and a band of about forty, whom he had driven back to the mountains, not without loss,

fastened with untanned leather thongs; each, as he mounted, which was done at a single step and with the utmost grace, curvetted about a little while to show the mettle of his animal; then drawing his serape closely about his form, but with a hand protruding near the breast to allow the free use of a lighted cigarro, turned and bowed to the ladies, and joined the group of horsemen. To dance and ride well is part of a Mexican's education, and not to be excellent in both is the exception to the rule. To return the numerous bows and '*buenos dias caballeros*' from even the slightest acquaintance is a bore, but at the same time very amusing. Manners, which would elsewhere be styled impertinences, are here simple customs. They have a way of stopping near you when you are conversing with an acquaintance in the street, listening with earnest innocence to your remarks; and if you attempt to turn away with English hauteur, they are rather flattered by the notice—perhaps smile with inward satisfaction. Secluded from the world, rarely hearing foreign news, any bit of information is considered fair game and public property. Like all Spaniards or Hispano-descended people, they are great gamblers; and while many have been ruined, few escape the influence of the vice. It is bequeathed them by their ancestors; and in regarding the idle habits of a large portion of the middle classes, we should be less disposed to censure, from the fact, that the frequent revolutions preventing or destroying all improvements in the country, and no public amusements presenting themselves, it is quite natural that falling into gaming is one of their few pastimes.

as he had bewailed to me over our glass of iced cognac and a real havana at the inn of Puebla.—the death of one of his best sergeants. We ran down the plain of Puebla, teeming with villages, peeping out of rich fields of maize and corn for forty miles. The first place we reached was Amazoc, whence the road branches off to the plain of Perote. Here the escort sent on the night before from Puebla met us, and we had a ride of twenty miles, over a fine rich loam country, covered with maize and teeming with cattle; it is dreadfully infested with robbers, and on the low hills which ran at a mile distance parallel with our road, we could see parties of them watching us. Our escort had formed part of Couttolene's force in the fight of the day before, and had killed two, so that they expected to be attacked on their way back from Tepiaca, where, however, we gave them an excellent breakfast to fortify them for their expected encounter. From that spot, the country rapidly descends to the next plateau, and in the course of about an hour and a half we experienced as much jolting as a set of marbles in a schoolboy's pockets; nothing but holding on by main force with both hands prevented either your head being banged against the top, or from one side of the vehicle to the other, or bodily into your neighbour's stomach. The greater part of

the time we rolled over bare rocks ; and being down hill, and the mules going their best pace, the cochero picked out, as he best could, the easiest places. . How wood and iron stood it will be a marvel to me for the rest of my days. Our escort now were not regular troops, but a sort of national guard, supplied us by the *hefe politico* of the district. Of course they were extra valiant : kept careering and dashing about in every direction in search of imaginary robbers, who never appeared ; galloping up to the windows for us to get our rifles ready for a harmless group of donkeys, who appeared a quarter of a mile off ; and of course grumbled at being paid a dollar apiece at the end of our two hours' run, about double what the regular soldiers were very thankful for. We found an excellent dinner at Tecamachalco in a lofty stone-floored room, with two windows looking into the street, a large patio, in the centre of which was a tank brimming with exquisitely limpid water, supplied by a running stream from the mountain. A dinner was served of soup and toast, fried eggs and chilies, mutton cutlets with baked potatoes, a stew of chickens and pumpkins, some excellent guava jelly, chocolate and sweet cakes, with a glass of aguardiente to wash it all down, at two dollars for the three of us. The kitchen opened into the room : it was fitted with a kind of

counter, two and a half feet high, of stone, and stretched semicircularly across the room; behind it were the females of the establishment, who presided at five or six fires of charcoal, let into the top of the counter with iron bars, upon which the pots and pans were frizzling; so that we saw our dinner come hot off the fire. In front were gathered a motley group of our escort that had been, our escort that was to be, and no end of idlers, to whom on tortillas, by way of plates, the remains of our dinner were liberally distributed; and we rattled down the main street accompanied by a very respectable cheer. From thence till late in the afternoon our way lay over the rich plain, on which we could see, for miles away, whirlwinds of dust madly careering, exactly like water-spouts at sea; the sun was overpoweringly hot, and the fruits with which we had taken care to provide ourselves with at Tecamachalco were inconceivably refreshing. The whole of the road—if road it could be called—lay over worn flat trap-rocks, barely covered with the soil, which was of a rich sandy loam throughout. There were indications of much better cultivation of every sort of grain throughout the whole of this district: cattle of respectable size and fatness gazed at us lazily from the maize fields; and we saw a great many flocks of sheep of several hundreds in number. The inhabitants are

almost invariably Indians; and although their houses did not represent a high order of architecture, they appeared roomy and comfortable, while they themselves seemed tolerably well-clad, well-fed, and contented: there was also no lack of pigs and poultry, in excellent condition. Their houses are in most cases built of upright palm stems, placed close together, with the doorway of canes; the roof is formed of the leaves of the *aloe*, with the scoop upwards, forming a perfect 'natural tile; chimney there was none, but as the air had free egress between the palms, it was not necessary. The aloe or aguave is here cultivated to perfection; they spread on each side of the road by thousands and by thousands, and we saw them in every stage of ripeness. The cactus, in numerous and beautiful varieties, shaded the sides of the road during our whole route, sometimes starting out of niches in the rock, and at others towering out of the rich sandy loam, to the height of eighteen and twenty feet: some of the flowers were scarlet, but the greater number were of a rich yellow. There are other plants, which I often inquired the names and properties of without ever getting any satisfactory answer: nobody understands why you ask, and they only stare at your curiosity, and, if you persist, shrug their shoulders at your inquiries and vote you a bore.

The guava is here met with — a yellow fruit like a small apricot: it is pleasant to the taste, though slightly glutinous, and is excellent to assuage thirst, as it melts in the mouth; it grows on a scrubby sort of tree, with small blunt leaves. Limes, oranges, bananas, pines, jocotes, figs, apples, granaditas, are spread on hides or in rough baskets on the stones of every little town in tempting profusion, and at ridiculously low prices. for $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ you may buy as much and as great variety as you can eat in a day.

Hyacinths, roses, convolvuli, and honeysuckle, grow in such wild profusion as to check the growth of the maize.

Late in the afternoon we arrived at the village of Tlacotepec. On the top of a lofty hill, with a wide-paved road, fitted with praying stations, was an imposing pile of buildings forming the Calvary to the Parochia, in the centre of the village itself, as big as a small cathedral. We were not admitted within its walls; but on a platform of some acres in extent were ash and other European trees, at least eighty feet in height, which must have required infinite care and pains to be reared in such a soil. The village was a mere collection of Indian huts. No town or place was within twenty-five miles; so all the riches and magnificence were for the benefit of the monks

themselves—and a pretty good time they seemed to have had of it, for the land in a wide circuit round all belongs to them. I must say, however, that the buildings were kept in most excellent order. There was a handsome tank of water, 200 feet square, built with solid masonry, with steps down to the water's edge. From this to San Juan de Tepango we thumped and bumped over masses of rock, cropping out from the earth in the middle of the road, through endless groves of cactus and aloe, whose tall spires were lit up by the rays of the evening sun, and shone like miniature minarets. Some of the columnar cactus rose to the height of more than twenty feet,—the gigantic aloe, with its crown of flowers, at least twenty feet higher. In this country they never seemed to cut it, as is necessary to extract *pulque*, in the manner I have explained elsewhere. There were also specimens of the cabbage and other palms; so that the country presented one mass of green verdure. It was interspersed with numberless villages of Indians, and appeared thickly populated, not only with these specimens of the human race, but with every kind of mongrel cur, and pigs innumerable. A long gentle slope of many miles, all thickly wooded, led us to the town of Tehuacan, which we reached at the commencement of a tremen-

dous storm of thunder and lightning, which lasted all night. The smell of the earth and the aromatic herbs was delicious, as they welcomed the unusual moisture. Tehuacan is a town of some 6,000 to 7,000 inhabitants, with well-built streets, and an immense square plaza of at least six or eight acres. The *hefe politico* assured us that there was no further danger from robbers, as none had ventured down into his district; but out of politeness and respect for our distinguished diplomatists, ordered a guard of ten men to attend us in the morning. We had a most excellent supper at the inn, where we found half a dozen travellers preparing next morning to traverse the road we had passed safely that day. It was no small satisfaction to describe to them the dangers they had to look forward to, and which we had escaped; and we went to our beds with the pleasing consciousness that we had frightened them out of their wits. At 4 A.M. we again started, splashing in the dark through pools formed by the heavy rainfall of the previous night. Our route lay through a rich valley, highly cultivated, and filled with a thriving and apparently happy rustic population. It led up to the highlands of Orizaba, whose towering peak, with its mantle of eternal snow, flushed pink in the early rays of the morning sun,

while we were still in darkness below. Groups of donkeys, laden with luscious fruit and excellent vegetables, passed us from time to time, driven by laughing men and women, who exchanged jokes with our escort. These last appeared a happy set of fellows, and of a much better class than we had hitherto met with. They, like every other human being we saw in the country, indulged volubly in expressions of bitter hatred against the *Gachupinos*; but I never once detected the slightest feeling, even of discontent, against the English or French. The higher portion of the pass was studded with fine oak trees, covered with some curious parasitical plants, hanging in long tresses, which at a distance looked like masses of grey hair. It was bitter cold when we reached Puente Colorado, where our escort left us, with many expressions of mutual good-will, after 'drinking a parting-glass of aguardiente. All along here some pains appeared to be taken with the road; for there were gangs of men levelling the uneven surface, and drawing a ditch along the side to carry off the torrents of mountain water, which hitherto seemed to have preferred the middle of the road for a channel. It took us an hour to toil up the ascent which led to the *Combres de Acolzingo*, when fortunately the sun burst out in time to show the splendour of

the scene. We were on the top of a mountain wall, a quarter of a mile thick, which completely blocks up the valley of Orizaba. We looked down an almost sheer descent into this valley, which extended itself before us for twenty miles in length by five or six in breadth, and gleaming in the sun with every shade of verdure. On either side towered the everlasting hills, covered with vegetation to the very summits, filled with game of every description. Deep-wooded valleys ran up on every side, and on our right leapt in one spring a cascade 150 feet, and then found its way by successive leaps to water the valley below. As a finish to this exquisite picture, on a small flat ledge, some acres in extent, were the ruins of what must have been once a magnificent convent, its crumbling walls still marking the extent of the garden.

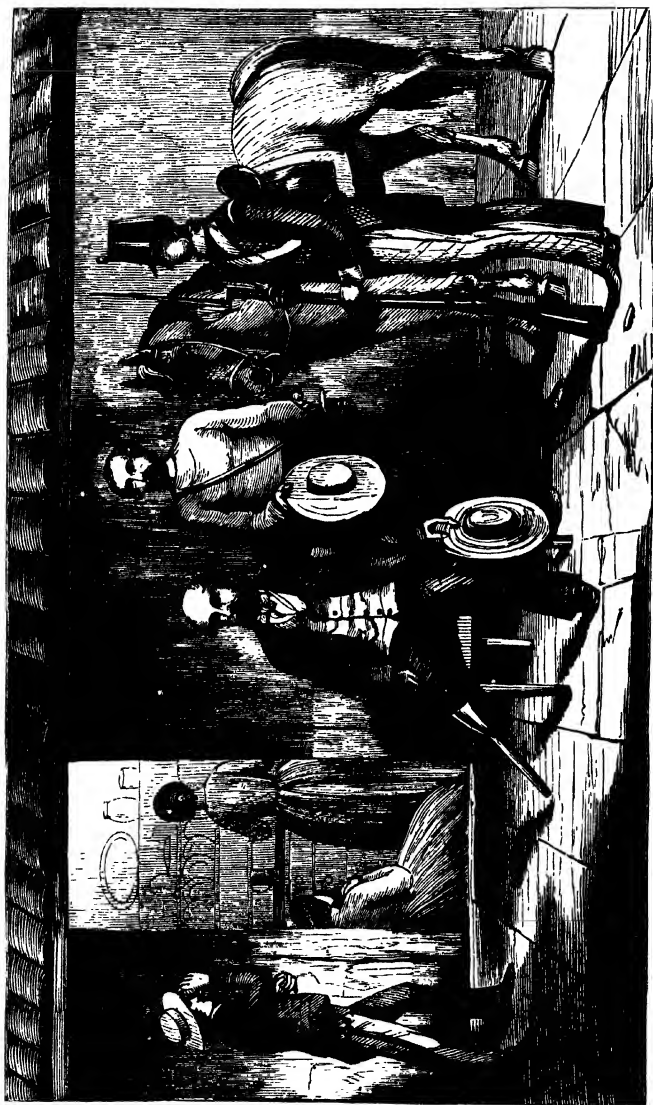
Far below us we could trace the road marked by clouds of dust, amidst which floated the red and white pennons and gleamed the bayonets of Zaragoza's army in the beams of the morning sun. The succession of more than a dozen long zigzags, often buttressed up with massive masonry, brought us to the bottom,—of course rattled and bumped with the speed at which these fellows always drive down hill,—and for three hours along an excellent road, flanked with well

cultivated and fenced fields, and rich *haciendas*. We passed parties of horse, foot, and artillery, lancers, ammunition wagons, and brass field-pieces, in long and glittering array. The men seemed healthy and cheerful, and stepped along to the bugles right merrily. As far as I could judge, they were about 4,500 strong. It was noon-day when we arrived at Orizaba, a town of about 15,000 inhabitants, most exquisitely situated on the plateau of the mountain, surrounded by thriving plantations of coffee and rich corn land. It is well built, and ought to be the very type of a thriving commercial town. Under a bridge of five arches, built with gigantic and heavy buttresses, flowed a noble river, which, as we passed it, was alive with hundreds of soldiers, bathing and swimming their mules and horses in the clear blue water. A clean and comfortable inn received us: the rooms opened upon a tiled corridor, which ran round the sides of a courtyard, and at least eighteen or twenty feet wide; one side of it was covered in with glass, and from a hole in the wall, which I presumed communicated with the kitchen, a succession of hot dishes were put upon the table for our very substantial breakfast. Scarcely had we finished a cup of the most delicious coffee, for which this district is celebrated, when the bugles announced General Zaragoza's

arrival. He is a quiet unassuming man, about forty, tall and well-built, with a good eye and a mild expression of face ; he talked much with us of the enthusiasm of his troops, saying that recruits poured upon him in greater numbers than he could manage, contrary to all former experience of Mexican wars ; that the indignation aroused by the invasion of their soil by the hated Spaniards had even loosed the purse-strings of the rich farmers, several of whom had placed at his disposal all the store of their *haciendas*, in corn, maize, barley, and straw, for the cavalry, without asking for a dollar,—a most unusual trait in the Mexican character ; he also spoke with much warmth and feeling of the treatment he had met with from the foreign merchants at Puebla. This, the second city of the republic, has always been coveted, as the seat of one of the richest governments in the country ; it is not only the most thriving commercial city, but stands in the centre of the richest agricultural districts. It appeared, however, that the present Governor formed no exception to the general rule of Mexican officials ; for when Zaragosa, in pursuance of his powers from the Government, drew upon the treasury for rations for his troops, the Governor gravely assured him he had not a dollar cash in hand. Under these circumstances Zaragosa called together the

principal foreign merchants, and explained to them the difficulties of his position. He told them the new prime minister, Doblado, had exhausted his means in providing the arms, clothing, and ammunition of the men; that he, Zaragosa, had set his face against forced loans and confiscation, which had too long been the rule; that Doblado had faithfully promised to send him, Zaragosa, \$60,000 for his troops; but that if the money did not arrive in reasonable time, he himself would pledge his word to pay out of his own private means whatever sum the merchants would think proper to lend him in his difficulty. To this appeal they had immediately responded, by lending him \$8,000 in cash, which had enabled him to continue his march without delay. He spoke to me with much gratitude of the part that the British had taken in the affair. •

At 7 o'clock dinner was served to the whole of his staff, which consisted of about forty: most of them spoke French fluently, and seemed to me men of good family and education; they were all young, and of course enthusiastic. By 8 o'clock my excellent friend, M. Chylius, had with great trouble secured us horses and mules for our journey, and at 6 o'clock the next morning we left with our escort, and a letter from the General to Uruga, the Commander-in-



Chief, under the guidance of Chylius, who, in his capacity as the vice-consul of Prussia, would be able to bring back the horses through the lines of the enemy.

A most delightful ride of three hours took us through a country of the most surpassingly lovely scenery, but to my uninitiated eye of great strategic difficulty, to the city of Cordova. The bridge which spans the river that pours the melting snows of Orizaba in a rushing stream through the deep rocky barranca, or ravine, which extends from the mountain's side down to the passes, seems to me to be an insurmountable barrier to an invading army, if well defended by artillery.

At Cordova we found Uraga just returned from an interview demanded by the French and English ministers at Tejeria. He received us with great politeness, though overwhelmed with business. I could not help remarking that he gave precedence of audience to a poor Indian muleteer, who complained that one of his staff officers had taken his mules for some military service without payment, to whom he ordered instant restitution of his beasts, together with full compensation in money. It might have been intentional; but I think not, as he would have hardly supposed us to be in the room. At our audience he told us that the French and English

ministers had at first endeavoured to cajole him, by assuring him that the intervention had no other object in view than the good of the country; to which he answered, that the Mexicans had done enough by giving up Vera Cruz at once, and without a murmur, to the hated Spaniards; but that if they attempted to set foot in the interior, he would pour upon them the long pent-up fury of his countrymen. There the English minister paused; but the Frenchman, with much volubility, and, as he described it, much undignified vituperation, threatened him with the enmity of the French nation; that he replied, that the Government of Mexico were prepared to treat on the most liberal and equitable terms with England and France; but that if hostilities were forced upon him, it was his most sacred duty, as a soldier, to defend his country, and that if he had a man to follow him, he would dispute, inch by inch, an advance into the interior—to which the English minister did not say one word. He kindly gave us an escort, and orders to his lieutenants to pass us free to the gates of Vera Cruz, and told us to assure the Consuls on our arrival, that at all times couriers bearing mails or despatches should have free ingress and egress through his lines, in communication with the capital.

I saw in camp about 1,000 cavalry, mostly

lancers, and armed with light carbines, stamped *Liege*, 1858, and about 8,000 infantry, with thirty pieces of artillery, most of them brass, and some rifled. They were generally young men, robust, and rather above the ordinary height. I should say the average was about five feet eight inches; and as they live on tortillas and frijoles, i.e. pancakes and beans, they are able to subsist where no other troops in the world could support existence. As soon as the heat of the day was passed, we rode forward through a most exquisitely wooded country towards the passes. The road was full of men and women singing, and carrying market produce on their donkeys to the town. Through the villages the women were knitting at the doors, and the children playing, as if no such terrible visitation as war was near their hearths; everything was as calm, as in the inland counties of England, nor did we see the slightest indication of warlike preparations till we reached the *Chiquihuitas*, where the river rushes in a deep rapid stream through a narrow gorge, and falls in a tumbling cascade into the lower country.

The whole sides of this deep valley are clothed with the densest jungle, utterly impassable to any but the wild beast. The view as we turned to descend the declivity was enchanting. Behind us

the sun poured its parting rays over the slopes of the snow mountain, aslant the level country, which extends in gentle undulations sixty miles right away to the sea. Here we found the captain of the port of Vera Cruz, M. de Förster,—a gallant Dane, who has served in the English navy, surrounded by the boatmen of Vera Cruz, who, together with the entire male population, had left the city on its occupation by the Spaniards. Förster had not been idle: every available point had been occupied by the long sixty-eight-pounders which had been removed from the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, and were now in position, guarded by the very men who served them with such terrible effect against Miramon, when he so unsuccessfully attempted to bombard the city in 1859. De Förster had with him, besides his own officers, a large staff of young men, mostly the sons of wealthy families in Vera Cruz, who spoke English and French fluently. All the trees which impeded the range of the guns had been cut down, and the plain for three miles, as well as all the approaches, were completely commanded by the guns in position.¹ He will be a dangerous customer to any force that attempts to invade his natural fortress; and our

* The whole of these troops are now withdrawn, and the road from Vera Cruz to Orizaba is in possession of the French.

muleteers, who had known the country for forty years, said there was no path by which it could be turned. After a very noisy supper with the gallant Dane and his men, we descended into the plain, and found our way to a solitary house, the only one left inhabited, except those occupied by troops, in all the wide district between the sea and the mountains, and which is known by the name of Tierras Calientes. When I last saw it, the whole plain was swarming with cattle and horses; now not a hoof was left, nor a single peasant's hut inhabited. All had retired, in obedience to Uraga's proclamation (see Appendix), and also, I must add, entirely to their own approbation. The house that received us was called Tres Encinos, from three noble oaks before the front—I was going to say door, but there was none. The inn consisted of an immense long roof of about 100 feet in length by thirty in breadth, supported on palm stems set a few inches apart. It was divided in three, but a very temporary and insufficient separation it was, as one could see from one end to the other, both over and through the flimsy barriers. The upper end was appropriated to the shop and kitchen, and there was some attempt at a locker, with a gigantic padlock, where it was to be presumed valuables were kept; but there are no robbers in this part of the country.

The largest, or middle partition, is the guest-chamber by day and dormitory by night; the centre, occupied by a long deal table with benches, and the sides by tressles, on which, wrapped in serapes, snored the travellers, the natives on rugs and mats; the third was appropriated to the mules and horses, who occasionally varied the proceedings by fighting furiously. I had often slept in the open air before, but never under the semblance of a house; and here it was the same thing to all intents and purposes, for there was no door or window, and the cold air blew over us from every quarter. Our supper consisted of coarse chocolate, with sweet cakes to dip in it; strips of jerked beef, which hung in festoons from the rafters above our heads, and were toasted over the charcoal fire; and newly-baked tortillas, hot from the pan. The whole was washed down with excellent aguar-diente from a very Etruscan-looking long-necked *amphora*. After supper our *mozo* slung my hammock, and I dozed, amid the snoring of nine persons and four pigs, who occupied one corner of the apartment. A lantern, slung from the roof, gave a feeble light. On two beds of hide lay a heap of children covered with a serape, their eyes blinking and twinkling in the semi-darkness. Their mother, the *Señora*, was clad in a scanty night-dress, over which

her long black hair fell with a very unearthly look. Our servants were coiled up on the saddles and mule-blankets, while the centre of the floor was occupied by several dogs, who seemed little disposed to move at the shrill voice of the mistress of the mansion, but all night long got up little fights, and varied the monotony of the dead silence by snarls and snaps. On a framework, erected for their especial accommodation, was a row of cocks, who expressed discontent at the illumination by deep chuckles of rage, and fierce pecks at each other. Overhead dangled strings of sausages, Chili peppers, plantains, and garden vegetables, in a network of cobwebs, whose proprietors spun about in fearful proximity to my nose.

Water is fearfully scarce here; and we had to go four miles to a deep cleft, where we took off the bridles and let our horses and mules plunge their nozzles into the icy fluid. All of them seemed thoroughly to enjoy it, and gratefully returned to their labour after fully satisfying their thirst, but one mula, who determined to carry out the characteristics of her race: of course it was the one which carried the American despatches and the new treaty going to Washington to be signed. I laughed immoderately at first, till I remembered this, and saw

Plumb rushing about in agony, yet not venturing to plunge into the dark and uninviting pool, exactly like a hen who has reared a brood of ducklings sees them rush into the water, and cackles fretting on the shore, vainly endeavouring to call them back, yet fearful of wetting her feet. The brute of a mule walked deliberately deeper and deeper into the pool, till the portmanteau containing the precious paper was all but covered; and then, I presume, enjoying our agony, prepared to lie down, when at one rush our gallant arriero, an old man of sixty-four, dashing in up to his neck, seized the brute by the nose, and with one dexterous twist diverted the pleasant animal from her wicked designs, and saved the reputation of my excellent friend the diplomatist.

At Camaron we found 2,000 troops and about twenty brass cannon in position, under General La Madrid, who received us with every kindness and consideration; but we pushed on in the burning heat to La Soledad. Here a clear and deep river, which runs from the mountain of Orizaba through a wide barranca, with steep walls of perpendicular grey rock, falls in a series of rapids over a ledge of rocks, covered with white shining shingle. The road bends down on each side by two zigzags to the bridge, which spans the only ford. It is, like all the

old works of the Spaniards, a massive and imposing structure, the piers standing with giant buttresses at least 120 feet high. The middle is spanned by a temporary roadway, laid upon faggots, having been blown up by Miramon in his retreat from his unsuccessful bombardment of Vera Cruz in 1859. On the farther side of the river stood the white tents of 4,500 cavalry and infantry, under General Alvarez, and forming the *avant garde* of the Mexican force. All along the shore parties of men were bathing themselves and their horses in the clear stream, both men and beasts thoroughly enjoying the refreshing coolness of the mountain water. The General received us with the greatest kindness, and pressed us, nothing loath, to go no farther that day. We formed a very merry party at dinner. About fifty gentlemen, all men of rank and position, and all volunteers, formed his staff. Indeed, Alvarez assured us they paid all the troops out of their own pockets. Most of them spoke French; and the Quartermaster-General, an old Pole, who had seen service in every quarter of the globe, spoke every European language with fluency. Alvarez himself is a most accomplished gentleman, and perfectly well posted in every kind of European literature and information. The conversation, of course, turned on the absorbing subject

of the hated Spaniards, and their invasion of the soil. Towards England and France they had no antipathy : towards England the very reverse. The freedom of her institutions—the comfort of settled law and honest judges—the honesty of her national character and policy—were lauded in the warmest terms. How was I to answer their questions?—What were we in arms for? Why link our cause with the Spaniards? It was in vain to say, We came to avenge the murder and outrage on our countrymen. They answered me that their party had not committed one of them, but Miramon and his clerical friends. And, besides, had we mentioned one word of them in the solemn convention our ambassador had presented to Congress? There was not a syllable about them in the whole document. Did I answer, We were there to demand the money due to our subjects, who had lent it, trusting to the faith of Mexico,—they answered again — It was Miramon who broke open the Minister's house and stole the funds destined for their payment. Again, was this a thing to fight for, when the Government acknowledged the debt, and was willing to meet us fairly and honourably to arrange its acquittal? Besides, are we sure that the claims we make are all honest? Awkward questions, the answer to which it behoves England to look well to, before she commits her-

self to a forcible intervention, by the side, and in partnership with, the avowed and well-convicted enemies of Mexican freedom and independence. 'Let us,' said they, 'once organise our force so as to give the central Government the means of enforcing law in the provinces, and the first thing we shall do is, to compel the Governors to obey law, in order to collect the taxes and pay them into the common treasury of the nation, not into their own pockets. The roads can soon be cleared. In fact, could we pay them all, the disbanded soldiers of the clerical party, who now drag on a precarious existence as marauders, would gladly join the regular army. The disgraceful monopolies which the late Government sold would be settled with, and an income would come in, not only sufficient to pay all our debts, but also to repair the roads, execute public works, and meet all the exigencies of the State.'

This was no idle dream: my companions, who had resided for a long period of years in Mexico, knew it was no idle fancy or delusive hope. If once the good blood of Mexico came forward, as it has done at the cry of danger to their common country, and support an intelligent and able native government, the difficulties of the past will melt away. Surely it is better to help them in such a course than

to fight them. Surely it is better to encourage the first hope, the first chance for the future, than to attempt to punish them for the past; and more especially, when the wrong doing was not theirs, but their bitterest enemies, whom they have only just been able to overthrow after four years' usurpation—the men, in fact, whom the ministers of the three intervening powers at once recognised in 1857 as the lawful rulers of the land, when they were merely military usurpers, and whose agents are now the only Mexicans whose voice is heard in the councils of Europe.

These matters we discussed over some excellent cigars and coffee in the cool verandah which covered the front of the quartier-general; while occasionally a capital band played, at a short distance off, some of those wild plaintive airs which so stir the Castilian blood. In no country where their language is spoken will you hear bad or even indifferent music. In the cool of the evening we rode out to view the troops. There were all the national games going on; and especially to please me some of the young officers threw off their helmets and jackets, and prepared their lassoes, while we formed a line to the corral, where a large herd of cattle had been driven in. The men speedily selected a young bull, who came tearing out through

the double line of horsemen, whose shouts roused him to his utmost speed. No sooner had he gained the open ground than his pursuers were upon him whichever way he turned; their horses rode him down, and he was quickly thrown on his side by the graceful festoon of tough hide, which floated like an angler's line over his head an instant before it encircled his horns, and being held taut on the pommel by the sudden slope of the horse, both beast and rider swerving to the motion, the sudden check upset his balance, and over he came with a terrible thump. Another and another succeeded, and at last I witnessed the triumph of their skill. As the bull plunged furiously along, carrying his head low and his tail straight out, a single horseman seized it by the bushy tuft, and, firmly grasping it with his right hand, passed it under his thigh at full speed, and, suddenly turning and checking his horse to meet the sway of the brute, rolled him by main force, without the least disturbance of his firm seat in the saddle.

A pleasant and genial supper closed the day; and in dismissing us the General told us he had ordered our escort, with fresh mules for our baggage, to take us down to the first outpost of the enemy, and bade us rest on the best beds his house afforded. At a

very early hour next morning we started, and plodded seven hours across the sandy plain from one undulation to another, without seeing one single living soul, or hearing a sound, but the birds we disturbed in our passage. The herds had been long driven off; the houses were bare; even the cottages all stood naked and silent. We passed many farmyards, but not a cock crowed welcome or alarm. All was perfect desolation; nor did we see one drop of water for our tired beasts till we reached Tejeria, the station of the Vera Cruz railway, where we found a couple of diligences prepared to take up to Mexico the passengers expected to arrive by that day's steamer from Europe. Before we left, two carriages full were drawn up by horses along the rail, and we had to answer numberless questions from the group of French, Germans, English, and Mexicans, who proposed to try their fortunes on the road; and blank enough they looked at the prospect we were forced, in common honesty, to lay before them. A couple of hours brought us to the gates of Vera Cruz, where, in the comfortable house of our good companion D'Oleire, we quickly forgot all the fatigues and perils of our six days' journey.

I found the Spaniards a very fine body of men, well disciplined and effectively armed, and clothed



VERA CRUZ

for the service required, but wholly destitute of cannon, as well as of all means of transport whatever. They were haughty and imperious to the few natives left in Vera Cruz, and amply repaid with scorn the hatred too manifest towards themselves and their nation. The officers carried this out in the most offensive manner in the cafés and table d'hôtes, and I had great difficulty in smothering an expression of disgust at language I heard there addressed to myself personally. Disease prevailed very extensively among the troops; more than twelve per cent. were in hospital; and the General most wisely varied every day the parades and exercises, always attended with most excellent music, and frequently by torchlight, to amuse and occupy his men. The French were better soldiers, but dirtier, to my astonishment, and much more noisy, of course. They were great favourites, especially the Zouaves. As to the English marines, they were wisely kept on board till wanted. As usual, those from time to time on leave on shore beguiled the holiday by getting stupidly drunk. The impression of all the foreigners was that the heads of the expedition were *all at loggerheads*. Prim is a very ambitious and rather unscrupulous man; La Gravière, on the contrary, a very cautious and wary one, being quite as good a statesman and diplomatist

as he is a sailor. Saligny, the French Commissioner, is hated in Mexico, deservedly, as having abetted Miramon and Almonte; so that the team was altogether a curious one to run in harness together. The forcible banishment of Miramon by no means tended to soften the bitter feeling which already existed. The Spanish troops were outrageous at the spirited conduct of Commodore Dunlop, who placed sentries at the gangway of the 'Avon' when the steamer brought the ex-President out and took him away again without allowing him to hold any communication with the shore; but the French were too well aware of the complication of affairs as they stand to interfere with the summary disposal of so combustible an element of discord. The state of the town was pitiable. Everything had to be imported by sea, all the inlets from the land being hermetically closed by the indefatigable Jarocho.* Trade, of course, was at a stand-still. As an evidence of the mode in which Her Catholic Majesty's Commissioners' forces, *always humane, noble, and loyal*, as Rubalcava styles them, conducted their operations when in sole occupation of Vera Cruz.

* The Jarocho are mulattos. They all ride magnificently, and are employed as herdsmen to the vast droves of cattle which covered the Tierras Calientes. They are now organised as a Guerilla force, and, from their knowledge of the intricate country, are truly formidable.

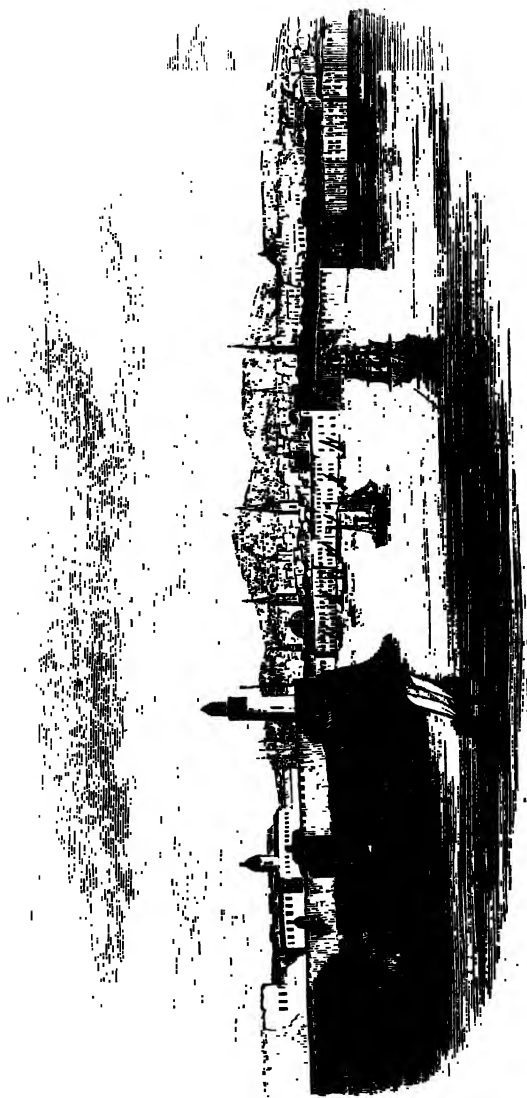
The French, who at once established a post-office and customs' arrangements, found the floors of the post-house covered several inches with letters from all parts of the world, massed indiscriminately—official, mercantile, and private packages tumbled all in heaps, as the ignorant soldiers who guarded the doors chose to throw them ; and not a single permit to land goods had been granted to all the vessels which had lain there for weeks laden with produce from foreign parts and consigned to their respective consuls—a pretty beginning to intervention on the part of Spain in Mexico. The French of course managed better, but in complete disregard of the feelings and habits of the Mexican population, they were no way behind their continental allies.

I was present also at two audiences, where cattle dealers complained to General Gassiet that the troops seized their beasts without payment, and assured him that their complaints to the regimental officers had been treated with contempt ; but the presence of the French and English had considerably altered the aspect of such matters before I left Vera Cruz. No doubt, as we at least paid for all we consumed, and probably the French also, supplies will soon come in, as the outposts at Tejeria are held by these latter ; and now that they are pushed forward to the towns on

the plateaux, there is the more hope of their being well supplied ; but I observed the old leaven still pervading all our military arrangements, forming a strong contrast, not only to the practice of foreign armies, but also the dearly-bought experience of many a campaign.

On arriving at Havana, I found the authorities in the greatest consternation. Serrano, the Captain-General, had sent in his resignation, and publicly announced his intention of leaving the island, whether his successor arrived or no. The Government was in debt for the money drawn from the banks to fit out the Mexican expedition to an extent which they were utterly unable to meet, and yet more requisitions came in from day to day to supply funds to the same object. Not that this affected the people an atom. Gayer, prouder, or more showy people it is impossible to meet with. I was much struck with an anecdote Serrano related to me. It is the rule to invite the Captain-General and his staff to every ball or entertainment at a native noble's. A lady, whose brother had voluntarily exiled himself on a hint from Serrano, gave a magnificent ball to the élite of Cuba, and prevailed on her husband to omit sending a card to the palace. As he was a man of very high rank, Serrano sent for him next morning. The *duque*

HAVANA



answered his wife wished to come with him, to which Serrano expressed no objection, and they both had the audience. The Captain-General pointed out to the lady, *as best man*, that if her brother wished to be reinstated, he had only to demand a public hearing ; but as he held in his hand nine cases of assassination authorised by him, in his own handwriting, Serrano advised her to let matters remain as they were, as, if her brother did come back, he was determined to bring him to justice ; and blandly recommended her to have another ball next week, and invite the palace staff, and he would attend and say no more about it. *The advice was taken.*

The service of the mails is admirably performed by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Once a month regularly to the hour a steamer arrives and departs, and the service is never interrupted by wind or weather. There is also monthly communication with New York, but it is most uncertain : passengers are sometimes kept twenty days waiting for a steamer. The trade with the States is very brisk, notwithstanding what is pretended to be a blockade. In the six days I was at Havana, five steamers laden with cotton and turpentine came in from the Confederates. One man, the captain of a steamer which brought 700 bales and 1,300 barrels of turpentine,

told me his steam whistle went off on the bar of the Mississippi, while waiting for the dead of night to run through the blockading squadron, and that no power could stop it for a whole quarter of an hour. Of course he expected the boats to come in and take him, but he ran out, and never saw a sign of a vessel all the way over to Havana. A pretty mockery of a blockade! Fortunately it is working its own cure; for when our merchants find, as they have already, that the profit of taking goods into the Confederate States is 400 per cent., and the war insurance charged in England is only 15 per cent., we see the South supplied every week with all they can pay for, any force or blockade to the contrary notwithstanding.

The mails from England are made up on the 2nd and 17th of every month, and are taken from Southampton by one of the splendid steamships of the 'Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.'

This Company has twenty vessels of 29,454 tons, 9,306 horse-power, and 1,667 men. They contract with the Government to carry the mails between England and the West Indies, Gulf of Mexico, and Spanish Main, twice a month, from Southampton, for an aggregate subsidy of 270,000*l.* per annum, with the Brazil line. After leaving Southampton, the vessels of the West India line proceed direct to

St. Thomas, and thence to Santa Martha, Carthagena, and Aspinwall, and from Aspinwall to Greytown and back. Returning, they leave Aspinwall with the mails and treasure from the west coast of South America, and from California, and, touching only at Carthagena, proceed to St. Thomas, where the entire West Indian mails and the mails and treasure from Mexico have meanwhile been collected; and thence they proceed direct to Southampton. The time between Aspinwall and Southampton occupies twenty-two days.

Once a month a branch steamer leaves St. Thomas for Havana, Vera Cruz, and Tampico, with the out mails of the 2nd of the month, brought by the steamer of the trunk line from Southampton to St. Thomas. Returning, the mails and treasure are collected at Tampico, Vera Cruz, and Havana, and reach St. Thomas in time to meet the main-line steamer thence to Southampton.

Twice a month another steamer proceeds from St. Thomas to Porto Rico, Jacmel, and Jamaica, and back in the same order to St. Thomas, distributing the out mails and collecting the home correspondence.

Another steamer leaves St. Thomas twice a month, and proceeds to St. Kitts, Antigua, Guadalupe, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, Barbadoes, and

Demerara, and returns in the same order. Another branch steamer, in connection with the last, proceeds from Barbadoes twice a month, to St. Vincent, Carriacou, Granada, Trinidad, and Tobago, and back to Barbadoes, by the same route, in time to meet the steamer for St. Thomas.

Another steamer leaves Jamaica once a month for Honduras, and back to Jamaica, in connection with that from Jamaica to St. Thomas.

Another leaves St. Thomas once a month for Nassau, and back to St. Thomas.

The present time of passage by the English steamers from Vera Cruz, touching and remaining a day to coal at Havana, and exchanging steamers with loss of another day, and sometimes more, at St. Thomas, to Southampton, is twenty-seven days.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF EVENTS.

ON the afternoon of January 6, the French and English squadrons anchored off Vera Cruz, and on the 7th the disembarkation of the troops commenced. The French force was estimated at 2,800, the English at 800, men. Add to these 6,300 Spaniards, and you have a total of 9,900 men. On the 9th General Prim, who took the command of the whole, landed. The Zouaves appear to have excited more attention than all the rest of the force; they are described as a rough, businesslike-looking set of fellows, and able to contend with any Mexican force, ten times their number. In less than an hour and a half they were snugly in quarters, baggage and all, and, having been fifty days at sea, they were given 'liberty.' In an hour they had put all Vera Cruz in an uproar: they drank, they sang, they danced; still, not a single outrage was committed; and, although the peaceable

inhabitants of Vera Cruz were a little frightened at first, they soon picked up courage when they found that all ended in fun and frolic. As a French officer remarked to me, 'Ils sont bons soldats, mais mauvais citoyens.'

The English and the Zouaves, who seemed to fraternise marvellously, were stationed at Tejeria, a few miles from Vera Cruz, and other portions of troops were quartered outside the town, which was greatly overcrowded.

On the 10th a proclamation was issued to the Mexican nation; but its publication and circulation have been strictly prohibited by Government. The following is a translation:—

Mexicans—The representatives of England, France, and Spain, fulfill a sacred duty in making you acquainted with their intentions from the moment they entered upon Mexican territory.

The faith of treaties broken by various successive governments, the personal security of our countrymen constantly threatened, have rendered necessary this expedition.

Those deceive you who make you believe that these just and legitimate pretensions are accompanied by plans of conquest, restoration, and intervention in your policy and administration.

Three nations who accepted in good faith, and acknowledged your independence, are not influenced by unworthy motives, but by noble and generous ones.

The three nations we represent, and whose chief object would appear to be to obtain satisfaction for the outrages they have suffered, have a higher interest at stake. They offer the hand of friendship to a people upon whom Providence has lavished its best gifts, and who are consuming their strength and vitality in civil wars and perpetual convulsions.

This is the truth; but we proclaim it, not with the threat of war, but that you may work out your own destiny, which interests us all. You, and you alone, does it concern to reorganise yourselves upon a firm and solid basis; yours will be the work of regeneration; and all will have contributed towards it, some with their opinions, others with their talents. The evil is great — the remedy urgent; now or never you can secure your happiness.

Mexicans, trust to the Allies as to an anchor in the storm, with the utmost confidence in their good faith and rectitude of intention. Fear not unquiet spirits; your rectitude and decision will confound them, while we shall preside as passive spectators of the grand spectacle of your regeneration, guaranteed by order and liberty.

In this light will it be viewed by the Supreme Government, to whom we address ourselves — by the enlightened portion of the nation, to whom we speak; and, as good citizens, you cannot but agree that, laying aside arms, reason, which ought to triumph in the nineteenth century, should prevail.

C. L. WYKE
HUGH DUNLOP
DUBOIS DE SALIGNY

E. JURIEU DE LA
GRAVIÈRE
CONDE DE REUSS.

Leaving on the evening of the 20th, General Milares de Boche, Captain Thomaset, and Captain Tatham, accompanied by three aides-de-camp and four or five servants, delivered their despatches on the following morning to the President, and gave the Government forty-eight hours for deliberation. The exact terms of this *ultimatum* have been kept secret, but its tenour appears to have been a request to allow the Allies to occupy Jalapa and Orizaba, with an intimation that if it was not acceded to force would be employed. Leave was given. That unanimity of opinion did not prevail at head-quarters is beyond all doubt. General Prim and Sir C. Wyke were for temporising, while Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and M. de Saligny were for energetic measures. People who remembered the very decided manner in which Sir C. Wyke some few months back advocated intervention, and the glee with which he seized the first opportunity for breaking relations with the Government, as a means to an end, were naturally surprised at the very conciliatory policy he now seemed inclined to pursue.

That the most perfect understanding existed between the Spanish chief and Her Majesty's representative, was proved beyond doubt by a letter from the latter, the substance of which is as follows :—

That the *ultimatum* sent by the deputy-commissioners is couched in the same conciliatory spirit as the proclamation issued to the nation ; that it is not the wish of the foreign powers in any way to interfere in the form of government the Mexican nation may think fit to select ; that General Prim is a most charming person ; that he is most intimate with him ; and that they are perfectly agreed upon all points, although Admiral de la Gravière and M. de Saligny differ ; and he concludes by saying, that in order to satisfy the Mexican Government of the goodness of their intentions, and to give them time, he and General Prim *have agreed to postpone the consideration of all private claims to a future occasion.*

The object of the expedition ought to be to redress the wrongs of individuals ; to obtain the repayment of spoliations extending over a period of twenty-seven years ; to demand satisfaction for the murders of Dr. Duval,* Mr. Bodmer, Her Majesty's Consul, Mrs. Chawner, Messrs. Beale, Bennet, Chace, and a host of others ; to prevent the repetition of such outrages as were offered to Messrs. Newall, Davis, Pitman, Selly, and Burnard ; to demand satisfaction for the violation of treaties, the robbery of *conductas*, the sacking of a légation, the exaction of forced loans, and the illegal expulsion and imprisonment of our countrymen : and one can never believe that such a list of grievances can be ignored by a British Government,

even if such a course be recommended by Her Majesty's representative.

Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and M. de Saligny were firm in their determination to see equal justice done to all, and it was therefore *in them* that the hopes of all foreigners were centred. Captain Dunlop, who in the absence of Admiral Milne was one of the Commissioners, inclined to their opinion; and to satisfy him that no middle course can avail the country in its present emergency, the British merchants of the capital forwarded to him the address they presented to Sir C. Wyke, condemning his convention of November 21, in which they clearly pointed out that, as treaties and conventions never have been held sacred, so they never will be, and that the only remedy lies in actual intervention.

General Doblado, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 'offered to enter into an undertaking for formal guarantees for the satisfaction of British and Spanish claims,' and Spain and England thus obtained a security for the objects of the convention in the pledge of the Mexican Minister. After the administration of Juarez came into power, proposals for a settlement were sent over to our Government, and they were of such a nature that they could not be regarded without some approval. The communication

was not received, however, until after the combined action with France and Spain had been settled; and although the proposition still appeared to present a facility for an amicable arrangement, since it showed the feeling of the existing government in Mexico, and indicated terms that might not have been unacceptable, it was thought advisable to let the negotiations proceed on the other side of the Atlantic under the tripartite convention. Subsequently the Mexican Congress disallowed the draft of the treaty proposed by the Juarez ministry, so that the proposition entirely lapsed.

The Allies went to Vera Cruz without acknowledging Juarez, who is constitutionally President, and from the time Miramon usurped the power of Zuloaga, who usurped that of Comonfort and Juarez, they have done all they could to break up the Republic. Their acknowledgement of Almonte, who made the infamous treaty with Mon, virtually selling Mexico to Spain, and at a time when he had no authority to make a treaty which has never been ratified by Mexico, and never will be, and their refusal to acknowledge La Fuente, who was the true Mexican Minister, and who was in Paris at the time the Mon-Almonte treaty was made, and who in the name of Juarez protested against it all, were the beginning of

a plot, long seen through, to subvert the regular order and to establish a monarchy in Mexico. This is the treaty the Mexican Government is accused of breaking, and for which it is stigmatised as a non-respecter of treaties, so as to furnish an excuse for armed intervention and dictation.

There is much to condemn in the manner in which the expedition was planned and carried out. Spain ought not to have been allowed to take the initiative. The command ought not to have been conferred on a Spanish general. Why unnecessarily wound the feelings of Mexicans, and at the same time hurt the pride of French and English troops? Let the Mexican nation understand that France and England are the chief movers in the undertaking—that it is *to preserve* their nationality, not *to destroy* it, that they come—and all would go well.* It was

* The Yankees hurried out of the house they had taken. Their men were sick and tired of it; the officers had won all they wanted (military rank and distinction) in a perfectly successful campaign. They left Mexico a prey to the most perfect anarchy, and the game has been played to the last card. The whole people cry out for security to life and property, and despair of finding it at the hands of their own leaders. Spain they cordially detest, both nationally and individually; and no wonder, as they have greater wrongs to redress at her hands than any nation, and the feeling is very intense. Any action of France and England would be cheerfully accepted, and with gratitude; and any outlay would be amply repaid, as the supply of silver would be doubled and quadrupled if life and property were

easy of accomplishment, but not by fighting. The roads positively swarm with banditti. The fact is that poor fellows, dragged by force from their homes to serve in a cause they cordially abhor, desert by hundreds, carry with them their arms, and have no other means of livelihood but the road. The Deputy Commissioners on their way down narrowly escaped being plundered. A party came out with that intention, but the escort, which was at a little distance off, galloped up and saved the officers from having to stand and deliver. The second diligence, a short distance in the rear, was stopped, and a courier from the United States Legation eased of all his despatches.

More harmony amongst the Allied commanders, and a more honest attempt on the part of the Governments to adhere to the stipulations of the convention, would have saved largely from the loss of life and waste of money which this blunder of Earl Russell's has even now cost us. Very few persons will feel any disappointment at its result. The speculators who were foolish enough to trust to the promises of the half-informed Government organs must take the consequences of their credulity. No honest critic could

secured to the undertakers. Nor need an intervention in any way impair the nationality of the country, or its territorial integrity; and they have that confidence in us, that they have no fear of annexation or spoliation.

admit the possibility of the success of the expedition. Earl Russell himself has confessed, plainly enough, that nothing positive was to be obtained from it. The results he proposed to himself in negotiating the convention were purely negative. He saw no good to England from such an intervention, but he thought that by participating in it she might hinder the ambitious projects justly attributed to France and Spain. The result has not justified his Lordship's confidence in his own cleverness. All the evils he dreaded have occurred, in spite of his costly expedient to prevent them. The lives of our poor soldiers and sailors were sacrificed to the yellow fever at Vera Cruz; the estimates were swelled, as Lord Palmerston told us, in making out this exceptional year, to prevent Spain and France from acquiring special influence in Mexico or interfering with the constitution of its Government. It turns out now that Spain has no such intention; but after all our efforts we leave France apparently engaged in a grand scheme for making the Mexicans happy against their own will, and certainly lending her aid to the party which seeks to establish a monarchy upon the ruin of that Republic, over the inauguration of which the Liberals of forty years ago wept tears of joy. We hope that, now all fear of disturbing the combination is removed by

its dissolution, the unexampled folly displayed by Earl Russell in this business will be properly stigmatised as it deserves. His own despatches give conclusive proof that he was thoroughly aware of the certain failure of such an expedition, and that the desire to signalise himself by a masterpiece of cunning was his motive in involving England in this scrape.

Whilst we rejoice at the rupture which has taken place between the Allied plenipotentiaries, and most willingly leave to the French the sole danger of bringing the Mexicans to reason, we cannot acquit the French Government of disingenuous conduct. It assented to that article of the convention which binds the contracting powers 'not to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and to constitute freely the form of its Government ;' and it has ever since the signature of the convention been lending the aid of its influence to the party who seeks to establish a monarchy. Its refusal to ratify the convention of Soledad showed that it had much larger objects than the mere satisfaction for the past and guarantee for the future, assigned in the convention as the object of the intervention; and there seems no reason to doubt, that the final rupture which resulted in the withdrawal of the Spaniards was

caused by the determination of the French plenipotentiaries to march upon Mexico under any circumstances, and the protection which they persistently gave to the party which avowed its intention to establish the Church dominion. It is certain that General Prim would not have withdrawn from the expedition for trifling departures from the terms of the convention, and his letter from Orizaba probably states the main facts fairly enough. The French Commissioners have instructions which are quite inconsistent with the convention, and they have allied themselves with a few traitors, headed by General Almonte, against the legitimate government of Juarez, which they have themselves recognised, and with which they are not even yet professedly at war. The interference of the Captain-General of Cuba, announced with 'so great a flourish by the 'Moniteur,' was not likely to be brooked by the Conde de Reuss, who, independent of the strength which his great popularity gives him, can hardly be under Serrano's orders; and the Spanish Government sustained a resolution to which Spanish pride naturally responded.

The French will, therefore, be left alone to finish the work, whatever that may be, which their Government has undertaken. England will watch their

course without the slightest jealousy. It is not true that the French have grievances which justify them in subverting the Mexican Government and reducing the country to be a dependency or a satellite of France. The pecuniary claims of French subjects are infinitesimal compared with those of the English, and the wrongs they have sustained have been of the sort to which every inhabitant of Mexico, native or foreigner, has been continually exposed for the last twenty years. No doubt these outrages, if committed in a country where the Government could be said to have any real responsibility, might, if redress were denied, furnish a *casus belli*; but it is preposterous to hold the helpless Mexican Government responsible for outrages it cannot prevent, and for which, besides, it is anxious to give satisfaction. We cannot bid our neighbours lay the flattering unction to their souls that they are in Mexico for a cause in which the honour and interest of France are involved, and still less can we encourage them by holding out any prospect of success at all correspondent to the sacrifices which they will have to incur. Half a dozen victories over the ragged regiments of Mexicans, let them be as bloody as the great ones of the First Empire, would add nothing to that glory of which France has already quite enough. General Lorencez

will, no doubt, reach Mexico; but what can he do when he gets there? He may order a *plebiscite* and elect an emperor, but his majesty will only be recognised within the range of his protector's outposts. The French cannot occupy the whole country. To hold its most important points will require an army of 80,000 or 100,000 men, which would need continual reinforcements. European soldiers will not suffer much from the resistance of the Mexicans, but they will fall victims in thousands to the Mexican climate. What advantage can France derive from this occupation? What order she does establish will turn to the profit of the two nations which have backed out of the intervention. She cannot make the country pay for it. And, despite M. Michel Chevalier's ingenious theory about France being the protector of the Latin and Catholic races, all the Emperor's services to the Church in Mexico would not weigh with fervent French Catholics against the abandonment of the Pope. Is France in a position to bear such burdens? Many members of the Legislative Chamber have protested against the occupation of Rome on account of its cost. Will the country look with any complacency upon the enormous charge which even the maintenance of the inadequate force now in Mexico imposes? This Mexican expedi-

tion is not popular. It appeals to no popular passion, it promises no sterling advantage. The organs of independent French opinion go so far as to assert that the encouragement given from England to France to persevere in this expedition is dictated by a desire to see a rival involved in difficulties and disasters, whilst England must reap all the fruits of her labours. There is, of course, no such feeling entertained, but the suspicion is only natural on the part of men who recognise that France has no interest in the enormous undertaking recommended to her. We hope, for the sake of France, that the French Commissioners have misunderstood their instructions, and that this great and gallant nation is not going to pour its blood and treasure into this foul sink.

In obedience to the impatient demand of the public for information, the journals of Paris discuss the curious turn which affairs have taken in Mexico ; but they do so in a manner which betrays alike the uneasiness of the public and the 'perplexity of the writers, whose attempts at explanation have thus far only multiplied the errors. The 'Opinion Nationale' represents England and Spain as 'separating themselves from France,' and hopes to find that the grounds stated by General Prim and the English press are 'calumnies' against the French Govern-

ment — a very intelligible mode of hinting the alarm occasioned in Paris by the course which the French Commander has adopted.

France does not want a new Algeria in the swamps of Mexico, and protests that the indifference with which French movements in that quarter are viewed in England is in itself a proof that the dangers of the expedition far outweigh its profits. Were the undertaking profitable, of course perfidious Albion would have a finger in the pie; or she would not take it so coolly.

The 'Constitutionnel' reproduces passages from the speeches delivered from the throne by the Sovereigns of Spain, France, and England, in order to point the question on what ground two of the Governments have 'retreated' before 'the accomplishment of a duty,' at a time 'when the blood was about to flow.' 'France,' says the same writer, proceeds not 'to a conquest, but to the deliverance of a people.' Certainly that was not the original purpose of the convention between the Three Powers.

Now that people know the truth with respect to the monarchical intentions of France, with one voice the Liberal party condemn the line of policy she is adopting, whilst the conduct of England and Spain is

universally approved of. The 'Constitutionnel' maintains that it is the mission of France to deliver nations and succour the oppressed ; in a word, to render Mexico to herself. But Mexico, whatever M. Paulin Limayrac may say, has not asked for such an intervention, which is absolutely contrary to the very speeches he quotes. The Emperor said on January 27, both to the Senate and the Corps Legislatif, that the conduct of an unscrupulous government had obliged France to join with England and Spain to protect her subjects, and put down the attempts made against humanity and the rights of nations. Queen Victoria, on February 26, declared that the convention of the Three Powers was for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction for the violent acts committed by different persons, under successive governments, in Mexico, upon the foreigners resident upon the Mexican territory. The Queen of Spain announced to the Cortes, on November 12, that Spain, England, and France had agreed to obtain reparation, and to prevent the repetition of conduct which had outraged humanity and scandalised the world. The question was therefore to protect the rights of nations, and not to overthrow the Mexican Republic and replace it by a monarchy. Nobody could have entertained such an idea at the time, especially as France was sufficiently busy

herself not to engage in dictating laws to eight millions of men inhabiting a country situated between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. M. Paulin Limayrac humorously compares the retreat of the English and Spanish troops 'to the departure of firemen at the height of a fire.' But if fire there is, pray who lighted it? *

Although abandoned on this ground by its two allies, the French Government seems to persist in its project of establishing a monarchy in Mexico. The difficulty is not to install at first a monarchical government in the capital, and to obtain in its favour a vote, more or less sincere, from the natives. Universal suffrage, in countries which are not prepared for it by long experience of political life, is an instrument which can be made to render any sound that may be wished for; and the votes of the kingdom of Naples show us what that system is worth when it works under the influence of military occupation. But, the voting once accomplished, the Archduke Maximilian or any other candidate once proclaimed sovereign and established in Mexico, how should his power be maintained? The example of Iturbide shows us what length of time a monarchy lasts when left to its own resources on the soil of Mexico. And this example is the more striking, since Iturbide profited, to strengthen his power, by conditions which will not be so favourable to a foreign prince. He

* In Lord Malmesbury's speech, pp. 402-3, will be found due notice of this.

was a native, and he shared all the instincts and all the passions of the country ; in fact, it was his sword that had achieved the national independence. If anyone could have solidly established the monarchical principle in Mexico, it was certainly he, and his rule did not last two years ! To give some strength and some period of life to the new royalty, it will be necessary that the power to be constituted its protectress — that is, France — shall furnish for several years, impossible to reckon in advance, an army and a budget — an army to keep the country in order, to prevent new revolts, and a return to anarchy — a budget, for the financial resources of Mexico are absolutely exhausted, and several years will be required to revive them. If it be wished to obtain a definitive result, and to act in such a manner that the royal authority may not be exclusively confined within the limited space between Vera Cruz and Mexico, but shall extend everywhere, and that the country may not be dismembered amid the convulsions of a civil war, it will be necessary that the army of occupation should not number less than 100,000 men. The sovereign authority established by the aid of Europe will really exist only on the spot where the troops placed at its service may be encamped. How can we believe that it requires but the word ‘monarchy’ to pacify in an instant a country so completely unsettled as Mexico ? The installation of royalty will not dissipate the ambition, the hatred, or the passions which have produced internal discord. The chiefs of the democratic camp — adventurers interested in every disorder, pretenders to power — will not vanish before this magic word. Mexico will be held,

but not the provinces; and the Mexicans, like those Romans of the decline, of whom Tacitus speaks, have learnt by experience that a power destined to triumph can be created elsewhere than in the capital. Unless the whole country be occupied, almost a miracle would be necessary to escape the *pronunciamientos* indefinitely repeated by all those who might think themselves aggrieved by the new system of government. Royalty would reckon hardly a few months of existence before finding itself in the situation in which Miramon found himself during two years, and Juarez after his victory, almost besieged in Mexico, and obliged to oppose on every side bands of malcontents grown every day more numerous. Movable columns, well-organised, would certainly overcome those bands in the neighbourhood of the capital; but it would not be so everywhere. Mexico is an immense country, of which many parts are almost inaccessible. Without a complete and permanent occupation, how could a new Alvarez be prevented from raising the standard of revolt in his State of Guerrero, the fiery climate of which destroys Europeans, or in any other distant State, and from proclaiming himself independent, if he did not succeed in marching even on Mexico itself with success? Let us admit, what is hardly probable, that fatigue and the necessity for order after so many civil wars should decide the Mexicans to accept the royalty which M. Dubois de Saligny brings them, and to recognise, without dispute, authority from one end of the country to the other. Do people think they will have constructed a solid work — one, the duration of which would not require from us still more pain and still more trouble? The taint of a foreign origin

is fatal to every such government, and not one can resist the effects of this reproach, even when it is not merited. How much time was required in order that the Restoration — which France herself had invited, and which saved her from dismemberment; which had restored her finances, destroyed under the Empire; which, five years after the invasion and the disasters of 1815, had given her back an army and a fleet; which, finally, had given her liberty — how much time was required in order that this government should fall under the absurd reproach of having been brought back in the baggage-wagons of the foreigner? Now, what government would be a foreign one? That which troops have gone to install in Mexico.

France has but one interest in Mexico. The security of such of our countrymen as are established there in sufficient number in order to make their fortune. There is no deed of monarchy to give them this security. The guarantees can be equally found in a conservative and regular government with republican forms. Of all foreigners the French have, up to the present, been the most considered in Mexico, and, comparatively, the most respected. Should we not be endangering the situation by too direct an intervention in the internal affairs of the Mexican people, and should we not be incurring the risks, by supporting with a French army the establishment of a government repugnant to the instincts of the country, of changing the good-will towards our nation into anger and resentment, which would nullify all the guarantees that constituted authority could give us?

The establishment of a monarchy in Mexico would

be no defence against the encroachments of the United States of America; on the contrary, it would precipitate annexation, besides placing France in antagonism with the American Republic, and any foreign monarchy would be attended with insurmountable difficulties and dangers.

Certainly the Archduke Maximilian is a very distinguished prince; he has given proof of moderation and wisdom in Lombardy, and he is admirably fitted for a throne in Germany. But what interest can France have in giving herself all this trouble to bestow a crown on a prince of the House of Austria? It surely cannot be that the French Government hopes by it to promote the solution of the Venetian question. The Austrian Government has formally denied that there was any connection between the two; and we readily believe it, for it would be madness for Austria to barter Venetia for the crown of Iturbide. Besides, Austria is menaced enough to keep her most distinguished princes at home, and not to see them involved in perilous adventures beyond sea, hunting after a fantastic sceptre. If the French Government have really thought of the Archduke Maximilian, it must have some other and some secret motive for the scheme.

The sole object France should have in view is to obtain satisfaction for the injuries done her by 'a corrupt and despotic government under the mask of liberty,' and to assist the people in giving themselves a regular government without doing violence to

their usages and habits. 'Why seek for any other?'

The 'Constitutionnel' writes:—

Two years ago France lost the opportunity of obtaining the result by sustaining Miramon against Juarez. But, although more difficult than this, the task is not impossible. Instead of dreaming of the foundation of a monarchy which cannot live, and which would be only a source of complications unceasingly renewed, let France, without changing the basis of the social organisation of Mexico, accomplish, under republican forms, the work of political and moral regeneration. In this way the end towards which our country bends will be fulfilled, order may be solidly re-established in Mexico, national susceptibilities will not be hurt, and, at the same time that France will have acquired guarantees for the security of her interests in future, she will have definitely attached to herself the Mexican nation by the closest ties of gratitude. We do not dream of any other rôle for France in these distant countries; and we should wish to see her Government accept, as a conclusion of the successes which soon will crown her arms, in spite of all obstacles, this line of conduct—more simple, more economical, and less adventurous.

But there is a much broader and longer programme before the Allies, which they must at once set about realising. Mexico is to be revolutionised; the actual Government at the capital is to be displaced; the wrongs of Europeans are to be redressed; fresh

guarantees for peace and order are to be exacted; a new political system is to be established. These arrangements of the treaty demand as a preliminary the subjugation of the entire country and people. It will be necessary to do more than reduce the capital: every important town, seaport and inland, must be held by the invaders before any part of their plans can be carried out. And of this, what is the promise? Slight, indeed. Already they feel the pinch of popular hatred. The entire district is alive with implacable enemies. The supplies of fresh food from the interior are entirely suspended. It is intimated that a strong detachment of troops was despatched the other day to disperse the Mexican bands, who hold all the roads leading from the city, and that they were so vigorously attacked as to retreat in confusion within the walls. Other expeditions of great strength were organising with a view to clearing the State of the guerillas; but nothing has yet been effected, and the fact remains, that beyond the reach of their guns the Allies have nothing but swarming and relentless enemies. And this must be their experience upon every step in advance they may succeed in making. Not only is the entire district held by the Mexicans, but when the two roads leading toward the capital approach the mountains, all the narrow passages and

eminently defensible points are occupied by veteran soldiers, schooled in protracted civil wars, and led by the ablest generals of the Republic. All that engineering skill can do to make those passes impracticable has, we are assured, been done. They can only be carried with a fearful sacrifice of life, and by numbers much exceeding the encamped force now available for the assault.

One of the most discouraging and unexpected indications of the campaign is the unanimity of the Mexican people. There is no doubt that Almonte and Miramon gave the Government pledges of the existence of a powerful party in the State ready to take arms, and hail the new comers as liberators. No such party manifests itself. The reactionists have thrown themselves almost to a man into the patriotic ranks; their leaders stand ready to fight at the side of the same generals against whom they have been urging a pitiless war. Mexico, in this critical hour of her history, is a unit. The Allies will have to contend against 150,000 men expert in arms, not ill-provided, furnished with some show of artillery, and, what is of more consequence, actuated by an irreconcilable hatred of all foreigners, and of those chiefly who come at the moment of the Republic's utmost prostration to strip it of independence.

Of the odds of such a contest there can be small doubt. The French will find they have undertaken an impossible task. There will come a time when they will seek every avenue of escape from an entanglement into which selfish ambition has betrayed them. That time will be the opportunity of the United States; for to the mediation of that Government, as the one most intimate and influential with that of Mexico, the Allies will naturally resort, and will be prepared to accept any honourable conditions that shall extricate them from a false position. And it will be no matter of surprise if the solution be found eventually in the suggestion of Mr. Seward, that the United States, after obtaining proper securities and territorial liens from Mexico, 'shall assume the foreign debt of the Republic, and send those obstreperous and baffled bailiffs about their business.'

In the recital of Mexican grievances which is given in the address of Congress to the President of the Republic, will be seen that England is specially — indeed exclusively — pointed to as the author of the existing troubles. The Speaker of the Mexican Legislature, let it be observed, dwells with strong emphasis on the cause of the rupture with the British Government. He points out that the proposals made in the negotiations with that power,

which succeeded the decree of July 23 for suspending for two years all payments on account of diplomatic conventions, were of a nature, apart from merely fiscal considerations, which no nation having the slightest pretensions to self-respect could possibly accede to. And in this opinion most disinterested on-lookers will be disposed, at least partially, to agree. The British Minister, in short, proposed to put the stamp of his Government upon the bonds emitted as security for the payment of its indebtedness by the authority of the Mexican Congress. The signature of the Finance Minister of the Republic was to be of no value, unless flanked by that of the agent of the English creditors : and as well might the Mexican authorities at once have assented to the appointment of an English receiver, as become parties to a treaty which threw the entire financial control of the Republic into foreign hands.

Whether we agree with the President of the Mexican Congress or not, the fact remains, that while England claims to be the largest creditor and the heaviest sufferer at the hands of Mexico, her movements thus far, as one of the parties to the invading alliance, are either eclipsed as to their magnitude by France and Spain, from want of timely preparation, or have been studiously held in abeyance for ulterior

political objects, the scope of which is not yet apparent. Meanwhile, it is important not to lose sight of the original purport of the tripartite agreement by which the invaders of Mexico are supposed to govern their actions. The treaty between England, France, and Spain was signed in London on October 23. It started by professing that the contracting powers were to send equal naval forces, the number of troops sent by each power to be proportioned to the number of its subjects resident in Mexico. The powers also solemnly declare that they will not meddle with the internal politics of the Republic, but will only demand payment of sums due to European governments and individuals; in case of refusal of payment, they will take possession of the Mexican ports, one half of whose revenues shall go toward the payment of foreign creditors, and one half be left to the Mexican Government. The ports are not to be occupied permanently, but only as a sort of pledge. In case of a refusal by Mexico to grant the required stipulations, the commanders of the three squadrons are to take measures in common to secure a settlement; none have the power to bargain for special advantages. An effort at pacification between the domestic factions is to be attempted, but the Mexicans are to be left entirely free as to their

choice of government, whether monarchical or republican.

These are the main provisions of the treaty, and if we lose sight of them, we shall forget at what particular points, and how far, the Allied powers have diverged from the line they marked out for themselves at starting. We have pointed to the dilatoriness of England to make a display in force at the main landing-point. This, however, suspicious as it may appear, was remedied. But what are we to say of the attempt at pacification proposed in the treaty? If we are to credit the reports from the interior, the Mexican factions are already united without the aid of the foreign pacificators. And this union, instead of being ascribed to friendly counsel on the part of the invaders, is attributed solely to the hostile occupation of the chief port of the Republic.

It is true we must receive all such reports of domestic harmony with large allowance. The Clerical party could hardly expect to be a loser either in point of influence or income in a reconquest of the country by France. For the time, the reactionary party will naturally find its interest to lie in neutrality, until the objects of the alliance are more fully developed, and the chances of successful invasion become

more apparent than they are now. Be this as it may, the task which the Allies marked out for themselves will become more difficult the farther it is pursued. Already the interior of the country swarms on every hand with hordes of native guerillas, and the contingents from the various States, amounting to 52,000 men, are readily turning out at the summons of the President. Everything, indeed, betokens that, in spite of tripartite treaties and pacific avowals, before matters in Mexico are mended, they will yet be many degrees worse than they are to-day.

The Mexican war has expanded to a first-rate political question. It has shown, not feeble half-castes flying before two or three regiments, but an army posted in a difficult country, which has to be dealt with. It cannot be doubted that the French troops have received one, if not two, checks, and that the capture of Mexico and the establishment of the monarchical faction in power is not likely to be accomplished until the large reinforcements arrive which have been sent from France.

The news from Mexico, taken in connection with the recent speeches on the French expedition in the Corps Legislatif at Paris, must awaken serious doubts in the Emperor's mind as to his ability to conquer that country. Although the French have

all along been disputing the plain statements of Generals Zaragosa and Beriozabal concerning the defeat of the expeditionary army at Puebla, they have ever since that battle been content to remain entrenched at Orizaba, without attempting to advance again on the road to the city of Mexico. The Mexicans, becoming tired of this state of inaction, resolved to bring matters to a crisis, and accordingly summoned Count Lorencez, the French Commander-in-Chief, to capitulate on easy terms. The French General evaded this demand, and the result was that a combined attack on Orizaba was planned by the Mexican commanders, which, had it been carried out with skill and decision, would have finally ended the French schemes of conquest in Mexico. General Gonzalez Ortega was sent forward with his forces to the Cerro de Bárrego, a high position, commanding the city of Orizaba, and there at six o'clock in the evening of June 14 he took up his position, planted his batteries, and prepared for an attack on the French camp at an early hour next morning. After this the Mexicans went to sleep and did not awake from their sweet slumbers until the French were in their camp, at one o'clock on a dark morning, and their guns were turned upon themselves. They were so surprised that they could make little or no

resistance, and in the thick gloom they could not see their assailants; and thus the whole plan of the Mexican attack on Orizaba fell to the ground.

The following order of the day was published after the retreat from Puebla to Orizaba had been successfully performed.

SOLDIERS AND MARINES,—Your march upon Mexico has been delayed by material obstacles which you were far from expecting, according to the information that was given. A hundred times you were told that the city of Puebla called you with anxiety, and that the inhabitants would rush to embrace you and crown you with flowers. We have presented ourselves before Puebla with the confidence inspired by this deceptive appearance. The city was found enclosed by barricades and commanded by a fort, where every means of defence had been accumulated. Your field-artillery was not sufficient to open a breach in the breastworks, and for that there would have been required siege material. Not having this, but confiding in your dauntlessness, you were precipitated upon fortifications defended by an immense artillery and a triple file of musketry, whilst at the same time you had to sustain upon your flanks the attacks of many Mexican battalions and a large number of cavalry. You have done what French soldiers know how to do, as the walls of Guadalupe testify. A heavy rain came on, which inundated the soil and made the heights inaccessible, rendering it impossible to renew the attack; but the Emperor will know how to appreciate your efforts.

Yes, all I have told you is true. You have been deceived, as well as His Majesty the Emperor, and you have been obliged to defend yourselves even against those who have sympathies for you. But deceived France will know how to recognise her error; for your sovereign is too great to do wrong. He himself has said — ‘Justice everywhere accompanies the French flag.’

LORENCEZ.

Orizaba: May 21, 1862.

The official despatch of General Ortega, who commanded the Mexican forces on the hill of Borrego, and which we are obliged to condense, tells a very different story from the version of the Franco-Mexican bulletin. The General says that as soon as he occupied the hill he made arrangements for attacking the Angostura gate of Orizaba, planting four pieces of light artillery within pistol-shot range, supported by the requisite infantry force under the immediate command of Gonzalez de la Llave. His main body was at the town of Jesus Maria, about five miles from the hill, and the only force he had with him was the fourth Zacatecan regiment, two companies of the second, and a Durango battalion. The attack was to be made next day, and the officers in charge of the position thought they might take it easily, and actually went to sleep on their post. They were roused by the attack of the French, who got possession

of the four pieces of cannon without the slightest trouble, and turned them on the bewildered Zaca-tecans with most damaging effect. In the confusion which ensued, all, or nearly all, his principal officers were killed or wounded. The night was pitch dark, and the General says—‘I used my voice, in the midst of that dreadful and fatal confusion, as a banner to my soldiers.’ It came near costing him his life, however, for a French soldier sought out that famous voice, and wounded the gallant General in the shoulder with his bayonet. He says the enemy were repulsed when they reached the top of the hill; but under all the circumstances, he was obliged to retire, which he did in good order. He estimates his loss at from 400 to 500 men in killed and wounded, probably one-third of his force engaged. The French suffered him to retreat without molesting him much, and he says he was ready next day to renew the previous day’s plan of attack, with the regiments that ‘had not yet had ‘the honour of firing a shot in their country’s defence.’ General de la Llave, his second in command, was among the wounded. This despatch is addressed to General Mejia, and explains fully how and why the Mexicans were driven from their position by a mere handful of their enemies.

I subjoin the official correspondence that passed on this affair.

FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF THE EAST.

June 13, 1862.

As I have already informed this department, the army under my command began to move upon the city of Orizaba on the 11th inst. I expected that the enemy would have made some defence at El Ingenio ; but he abandoned it on the approach of our troops, and we occupied it with our forces. [He then details the regiments so occupying the place.]

Acting on the decision of the Supreme Government, I addressed General Lorencez, proposing to him the honourable capitulation expressed in the subjoined note numbered 1. That officer refused, as will be seen by Document No. 2, to enter into any negotiation, stating that all the power in this matter had been conferred on Monsieur de Saligny. Consequently I have resolved to commence an attack on the city to-morrow, as the only means which, after exhausting all the efforts of peace and conciliation, remains to put an end to a situation of affairs which is causing so many evils to the Republic.

You will please bring this to the notice of the President, &c. &c.

I. ZARAGOSA.

To the Minister of War.

DOCUMENT No. 1.

Head-quarters in Tecamaluca : June 12, 1862.

I have reason to believe that you and the officers of the division under your command have sent a protest to the

Emperor of the French against the conduct of the Minister Saligny, for having brought about an expedition against a people which, up to the present time, have been the best friends of the French nation. This circumstance, and the knowledge of the difficult position of the French army, as well as the desire to afford it an honourable retreat, have decided me to propose a capitulation to you, the principal basis of which shall be the evacuation of the territory of the Republic within a time agreed upon.

I believe that my Government will not question this new manifestation for peace, because, without transcending my powers, I may avoid the shedding of the blood of the sons of two nations, whom only error and intrigue could cause to appear together as enemies; and this has been the idea of the constitutional Cabinet ever since the beginning of the invasion.

If this offer is not accepted, I will have fulfilled my last duty in the way of humanity, and I will proceed to comply with the orders which I have received, throwing the responsibility of whatever may arise solely on those who have insisted on an undertaking condemned by reason and justice.

To the Commander-in-Chief of the
French Forces in Mexico, at Orizaba.

I. ZARAGOSA.

DOCUMENT No. 2.

EXPEDITIONARY CORPS TO MEXICO.

.. Quarters of the Commander-in-Chief.
Orizaba : June 12, 1862.

The Commander-in-Chief of the French troops in Mexico, not finding himself invested by his Government with

political powers, all of which have been conferred on M. de Saligny, it is impossible for him to enter into the negotiations proposed to him by General Zaragosa. The Minister of France is the only person who has authority to receive propositions of this kind.

THE GENERAL COUNT DE LORENCEZ.

ARMY OF THE EAST.

From the Commander-in-Chief: —

In pursuance of the express orders for the attack on Orizaba, the brigades and divisions were moved to their various positions, but, for causes of which I am ignorant up to the present moment, General Jesus Gonzalez Ortega did not occupy the Cerro del Barrego at half-past eleven on the 13th — the hour which had been fixed for a combined attack on the Angostura — which pass it was necessary to force, directing our strength against the right flank of the enemy, aided by the Cerro itself, so as to devèlope the attack, after having reduced the enemy only to the precincts of the city.

The Cerro before mentioned having been occupied in the afternoon, and there being no time to establish our camp with entire security, I came to a halt with the rest of the army, covering my left with the brigade of Antillon, my right with the division of Beriozabal, and the centre with the division of Negrete, and delayed the attack until daylight to-day, so as to carry out the combined operations already arranged.

It unfortunately occurred, according to the information I

have received from various officers of Ortega's division, that through neglect the enemy surprised a part of that division in the darkness of early morning, dislodging them from their position, and, consequently, their cooperation was waited for in vain at the hour fixed for the attack. The fire of our artillery was replied to by that of the enemy, who firmly maintained himself, being assured of the safety of his flank, which was to have been threatened; and with this confidence he advanced a column upon my line, which, however, we repulsed completely.

During the rest of the day there was only occasional firing from the artillery and infantry both on one side and the other; the casualties on our side not amounting to more than from eighteen to twenty wounded, the most of them severely. Among these were several officers, and General Santiago Tapia, who, early in the contest, received a slight wound in the foot.

The facts which I have stated prevented me from beginning an attack, which might under the circumstances have been disastrous to our arms, and I therefore retired on El Ingenio, where I will await the enemy to fight him with advantage; but if he remains in Orizaba, I will dispose my troops in convenient quarters. Liberty and Reform, &c.

I. ZARAGOSA.

To the Minister of War, &c. &c.

It will be a salutary lesson to them to be more vigilant for the future. They require a few more lessons in war. The advantage thus gained by the

French is, however, of no importance whatever, except that when the news — magnified and exaggerated — reached France, it excited the pride of the people and caused the war to be more popular. Such a result makes things worse for the French — the passions of the antagonists are farther excited, and the war of necessity more intensified. The Mexicans are on the spot with their millions, and even now we hear that 14,000 determined men are preparing to make an united attack on the common enemy. To carry out the war successfully Napoleon will need no less than 100,000 men, and even then his chances of success would be doubtful.

In June last the French troops at Orizaba had a train of some 200 large wagons that were being loaded with provisions, and some of them had already been put on the road. During the first days of the month something like 100 wagons were sent off under the escort of a French guard, and 200 or 300 Mexicans. These reached Orizaba in safety, but other small lots have been attacked by parties of guerillas of the Juarez party, and considerable damage has been done. One lot of twenty wagons, loaded with powder and flour, was fired upon the other day, and nearly the whole of the teamsters were killed. The small escort ran off at the first discharge and left the wagons

to their fate. Two French officers, who were going up with this train, to escape from the vomito of this city, were shot, as well as two French vivandières. These poor females were shown no consideration, but were killed, and persons who have seen their bodies lying with the rest of the dead in the road, say they were horribly disfigured and mutilated, and stripped of clothing. The wagons of this train were destroyed, the powder blown up, and all the rest of the cargo destroyed or carried off. In consequence of this reverse, and on account of the inability to send French escorts from there, the French Commander of Vera Cruz has ordered the return of sixty wagons that were already on the point of starting from the railroad terminus at Tejeria, and those wagons are again within the walls of Vera Cruz. The French troops at Orizaba, however, have provisions enough to last them for nearly two months: but they will be in want again, as, in addition to Mexican guerrillas, they will soon have the rainy season to contend with.

The following is the *exposé des motifs* of the bill demanding supplementary credits for the expedition to Mexico by Count de Morny:—

GENTLEMEN,—In the Emperor's speech to the great bodies of the State on January 27 last, this phrase occurs:—

We should not be engaged in a struggle with anyone at present, if in Mexico the proceedings of an unscrupulous government had not obliged us to join with Spain and England for the protection of our countrymen and for the repression of violent acts against humanity and the law of nations. In the interval which has elapsed since that time *England and Spain have thought fit to withdraw their troops from Mexico, and a small French corps of 7,000 men has remained to continue alone the operations commenced in common.* That body of men, notwithstanding its very moderate number, will not fail in its mission of civilisation, but will issue victoriously, we are quite convinced, from the trials which may await it. But, whatever may be our confidence in its ultimate success, prudence always commands us to place ourselves in a position to provide against all eventualities of war; and it is with that object that the Government applies to the Legislative body before the session terminates for the credits necessary to convey, according as they may be required, such reinforcements in men and stores as may be found indispensable.* The first reinforcements will be sent out at once. *Such is the object of the bill for supplementary credits which we now present* — 7,000,000 f. being for the war department, and 8,000,000 f. for that of the marine.

It is well understood that the said credits cannot receive any other destination than the expedition to Mexico. ‘On every point where our flag is engaged,’ says the Report of the Committee on the Budget,

‘we will support it energetically.’ The Government expected nothing else from the patriotism of the Legislative body, and the firm confidence that an unanimous response would be given to the appeal now made to it has not been disappointed.

The French and their Mexican allies continued fortifying themselves at Orizaba and Cordova, whilst the Mexicans were gathering great forces around them, and Generals Gonzalez Ortega, Llave, Carvajal, and Zaragoza, demanded the capitulation of the enemy. All the roads from Vera Cruz to Orizaba are infested with guerillas, who do considerable damage, intercepting the bearers of despatches, and making almost impossible the remittance to the French of the stores and provisions received at Vera Cruz by the frigates. Several *diligencias* had been detained on their way to Orizaba and carried by the Mexicans to Jalapa. On June 11 a great convoy, composed of more than twenty wagons, with arms and powder, was surprised by the guerillas in the neighbourhood of Tejeria; the Mexicans took possession of all, routing the escort and carrying off more than 200 mules, after the explosion of all the powder, though it must be supposed that this last act was not intentional. General Douay attempted to send reinforcements, including some negroes, from Martinique, but they

were forced to retreat to Vera Cruz, as the guerillas were in possession of the principal passes.

The guerillas are intercepting the introduction of all kinds of vegetables and country produce from this market. On Sunday, June 12, they seized the railroad train coming from Medellin, and carried the passengers back to that place. Mr. Lyons, the Director of the road, and Mr. Moran were on the train, and were made to take a long journey on foot, but were finally set at liberty. The object appears to have been simply to prevent the railroad from being used for the aid or comfort of their enemies inside the walls, although the effect of this molestation is to make the poor natives suffer more than foreigners.

Mejia, the Clergy leader of the Sierra, has taken Queretaro, and Lozada is again in power in the canton of Tepic. It is said the last political change was brought about by the merchants of Tepic, who, finding they could make better arrangements with Lozada than with Rojas, turned the influence of their purses in favour of the former. In Aguas Calientes and Zacatecas large bands of robbers have taken advantage of the disorders of the times, and are desolating the country in the name of 'intervention.' In the valley of Mexico they have had *intervention* in the houses of several private residents. One of the paper

factories belonging to foreign residents was lately broken into.

The Mexican steamer 'Constitution' was manned and sent to Alvarado to force the Government there to declare for Almonte. The inhabitants of Alvarado refused, and drove the steamer off. She then went to Tlacotalpan with the same result. The French man-of-war 'L'Eclair' was sent to Campeche on a like errand with a like result, for after exchanging a few shots with the castle of San Luis, and molesting the commerce for a few days, she left.

The French man-of-war 'Bayonnaise' went to Mazatlan and ordered the Government to declare for Almonte, threatening force; it was refused, and she left.

Admiral Jurien de la Gravière returns to Mexico to resume his functions as head of the naval station. He attended the Cabinet Council held on Wednesday, June 6, and it appears is in greater favour than ever. 12,000 fresh troops are going out at once. There are already about 4,000 men in or about Amazoc; so that, with the additional reinforcements to be despatched at a later period, the whole force for this second 'Conquest of Mexico' will be about 20,000 men.

General Almonte had declared that the population would meet them half-way to receive them as libera-

tors. It was on the faith of those promises that their little army, though weakened by the departure of the Spaniards, began its march in Mexico. *All these promises proved illusory.* Not only has the population of Puebla not stirred, but the famous *pronunciamiento* of Orizaba had nothing serious in it. The data on which the French were to act do not exist, and their intervention has no longer any ground to stand on. The government of Juarez, of whatever kind it be, is relatively the most *stable and the most popular of all those that have followed each other in Mexico for the last forty years*, for it has not vanished before the courage and prestige of the French soldier, like the Miramons and Santa Annas before the first Mexican who showed energy and will. What has been checked at Guadalupe is not the valour of the French soldiers; *it is the idea of intervention.* The soldiers advanced on the faith of fallacious promises; they counted on the cooperation of the population; that cooperation has been found wanting, and the responsibility of the situation falls entirely on those who had promised it.

As we have seen, on June 4 the French attacked Puebla, and after a severe action were forced to retire, with the loss of some 1,000 killed and wounded, and 200 Zouaves, who were taken

prisoners. The following day (the 5th) the French made a new effort to take the place, and were again defeated with heavy loss. The French were 4,000 strong, and their movements were directed by General Lorencez in person.

The second regiment of Zouaves, who so gallantly attempted to carry the Mexican batteries at Guadalupe, is one of the regiments whose colours are decorated for distinguished merit. It was at the battle of Magenta that the corps earned this distinction, which is never conferred except where colours are taken from the enemy.

After events of so remarkable a character, Don Juan Almonte, 'Supreme Chief' of the Mexican nation, could do no less than issue another proclamation to his 'fellow citizens,' in which he tells them that the unconquerable Frenchmen 'defend the cause of the independence and nationality of Mexico,' and in which his own countrymen of the Mexican army are called 'vandalic hordes,' their generals 'notorious for their crimes against society,' and the cause which they defend 'infamous.' According to this production, Zaragosa was 'flying shamefully' through the pass of Acultzingo, pursued by the cavalry of the national (i.e. French) army. He has put a finishing-touch to the exploits of the 'one

company' by killing off Ortega, Alatorre, and all the rest in the most off-hand and Frenchy manner, telling how these and many other Liberalist generals and chiefs 'found a humble sepulchre on the hill of Borrego.'

General Almonte, as 'chief of the nation,' as he styles himself, has decreed the issue of \$500,000 paper money to be forced into circulation. He published this infamous decree at Vera Cruz, and the merchants and all classes of people got into such a state of excitement over the matter, that on the following morning all the shops were closed. Indignation meetings were held, and the leading merchants signed an agreement among themselves not to open their places of business until the decree was revoked. Protests were made by foreign traders to their consuls, who again made protests to General Almonte's local Governor and to the French Commander. The organs of Almonte spread the false news of a *pronunciamiento*, said to have occurred in the capital about May 30. The truth is that General Zaragoza's forces, whose pickets had some insignificant skirmishes on May 31 with the enemy, retreated early the next morning to the heights of Acultzingo, and afterwards to Puebla.

General Almonte's decree, published on June 7,

provided for the emission of \$500,000 in national bonds, to have forced circulation as legal tender, distributed in five-dollar bills to the amount of \$60,000, one-dollar bills to the amount of \$100,000, and the balance in bills of one and two shillings.

The decree was received at Vera Cruz with the utmost disgust, as was perfectly natural. On their refusal to continue business, Almonte issued another decree, declaring that the shopkeepers who refused to receive his paper money would be considered as traitors and brought to trial accordingly.

Almonte named as Secretary for Foreign Affairs Don Manuel Castellano, as Secretary of the Treasury Don Desiderio de Jamaniego, and for the Department of War and Navy, Don Jose Hipolito Gonzales.

General Ortega's forces had arrived from Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi. The Government was urging the Governors of States to furnish their contingents with the least possible delay. To raise money the Government had doubled nearly all of the old imposts. There was still a great want of money, and new demands would be made on the capitalists of Mexico. With all the preparations that were being made in the capital, it was doubtful if the Government would stay, in case the French move on. There was a large party in favour of

moving the capital to one of the interior cities, and this it is probable will be done.

The Mexican papers announced that a treaty had been fully concluded between England and Mexico, by which all pending questions are settled. This treaty was first agreed to at Puebla by Doblado on the part of Mexico, and by Commodore Dunlop and Sir C. Wyke on the part of England, and had since been approved of by President Juarez. But English residents of the capital manifested great dissatisfaction, saying that any new paper guarantee from the Mexicans was merely an aggravation of the wrongs they had already suffered.

Great hopes are now entertained by a certain class of people upon the prospect of the American treaty being ratified, and there are those among the Mexicans who are greatly opposed to this treaty, saying that it is jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire for the Mexicans to throw themselves on the Americans for protection.

The French Commissioners made a protest against the ratification of the treaty with the United States, in so far as it may interfere with securities likely to be asked for by France to secure her claims against the country.

The enthusiasm of the Almonte party appeared not

to have passed the city of Mexico as yet. In the valley of Tlaxcala, and at Matamoras, Izucar, and neighbouring populations, the Almonte plan had been accepted; but towards the interior it had not yet met with much favour.

In Mexico and other places occupied by Government troops, great efforts were being made to raise the National Guard. In Mexico General Trias had command of that force. He was in a similar position when Comonfort fell, and it is a notorious fact that on the afternoon of the last day of the fight he was completely abandoned by all of his officers and most of his men, and that he was carried away from his post at a late hour in a most happy state, having confined his operations during the day to the consumption of brandy and water. With such forces as the National Guard of Mexico there will not be much bloodshed.

The United States Government had agreed to loan to the Republic of Mexico \$11,000,000 for a period of five years, the Mexican Government pledging the entire public domain and the residue of its church property, estimated at a value of \$100,000,000, for the repayment of the loan. The money to be made available to Mexico in this wise: — The United States Government is to issue its

bonds for the amount of \$11,000,000 payable in twenty years, and bearing interest at six per cent. In fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty by the United States Government, \$2,000,000 of the sum agreed to be loaned is to be paid to the Mexican Government, the balance to be paid by monthly instalments of \$500,000 for a period of eighteen months. As a guarantee for the repayment of this loan, the Mexican Government is to turn over its bonds to the United States for the amount of \$11,000,000, bearing six per cent. interest, and payable in five years. A mixed commission is also to be appointed for the sale of the public domain and church property sufficient to liquidate the liability, the sums so realised to be handed over to an agent of the American Government resident in the city of Mexico.

The relations of the United States with Mexico are of the most important character. Her fate is intimately connected with the many complications in that country, and it is their manifest interest to stand firmly by her in this her hour of danger. A serious blow struck at the liberties of Mexico cannot fail to be felt in that country at some future day. That country stands in urgent need of financial and other assistance, and in her necessity she appeals to the only Government that has the power, and should have

the will, to aid her. As an independent constitutional Government, with ideas and principles identical to their own, they cannot allow her to fall before her enemies for the lack of a moral and material support. The former she has : they will extend the latter. The security offered them by the Mexican Government for the proposed loan is unexceptionable in every particular.

The 'New York Herald' writes :

'It has been currently reported that the interference of the United States in any way in the affairs of Mexico will be regarded by the Emperor of the French as an open cause of war. This is an entirely preposterous idea. They know their international rights as well as the French Government know theirs, and we warn the ruler of the French at once that he is treading on dangerous ground, and that unless he recedes from his unwarrantable position, his persistence will only end in farther disaster and disgrace to the arms of the Empire. The United States Government is true to its principles, its traditions, and its great destiny, and these it will maintain in defiance of the machinations and envy of the combined nations of the globe.

'We therefore call upon the Senate to take up the new Mexican treaty and ratify it without delay. If we

would appear honourable and dignified in the eyes of other nations, we must do so at once. The people of America are warmly in favour of the Mexicans, and are ready to give them every support in their heroic struggle for the preservation of republican institutions. Congress should second these noble views of our people, and confirm the new treaty at once, so that the French may be hurled out of Mexico, and the nationality of that country be henceforth respected by all the nations of the world. We will thus show to Louis Napoleon and to his British allies that we know how to take care of ourselves as well as of our Mexican neighbours. We fear no danger from European designs or purposes. We are now nearly ready for them, let them assail us how or when they may; but we would at the same time seriously impress upon Congress not to neglect our Mexican friends, well-wishers, and neighbours, in this their extremity; for on the result of their contest with the French will greatly depend the future welfare of our own country.'

General Cobos returned to Havana on June 22 from a visit to General Santa Anna. They have agreed in a general plan for the expulsion of the invaders, under the rallying cry of 'National independence, war to the intruders and coalition of all parties.' General Cobos sailed the same day in

the English packet for Vera Cruz, accompanied by General Benavides and Colonels Galindo and Aubal, carrying a letter from Santa Anna to Almonte.

At the latest date the French are besieging Tampico.

Zaragosa died of typhus on Sept. 6. Whatever may have been his qualifications as a general, he was undoubtedly a man of energy and courage, and, what is more to his credit, I cannot learn that his conduct has ever been tainted by deeds of cruelty.

Doblado has gone into the interior to prepare for the retirement of Government to Guanajuato, if necessary, and to bring up troops. He is replaced by La Fuente as Minister.

There has been some excitement in Chihuahua on account of the invasion of that state by Colonel Beller with a small force of Texans. The pretext of Beller was that he was hunting Apaches; but this failed to give quiet to the inhabitants of Chihuahua, who saw in Beller nothing but a filibuster. The town of Piedras, in Nueva Leon, has also been invaded by some 120 Americans, who appear to have no connection with Beller. At Piedras the population fired upon the invaders, declaring they were filibusters.

Great stagnation prevailed in the capital and all the interior cities, except those which get their im-

portations by the west coast or frontier. The roads remained in the same deplorable state as ever.

Sept. 16 was celebrated in the usual manner with speechifying and fireworks. After dark some few riots occurred, and the windows of fourteen Frenchmen and one Englishman were smashed; but, upon the whole, the day went off more quietly than was expected. Small bodies of troops patrolled the streets, and the Government, at all events, proved that it was strong enough to put down any attempts that might be made by evil-disposed persons to create riot and confusion. A few days afterwards the clubs, which had been demanding the expulsion of all Frenchmen, and had threatened to take the law into their own hands if the President refused to accede to their wishes, were dissolved. This energetic conduct on the part of Juarez has been much commended. He is reported to have said to a deputation that waited upon him, 'If you wish to show your patriotism, go down to Orizaba and expel those who have invaded your country with arms in their hands, but do not interfere with peaceable citizens.'

The first act of General Forey on his arrival in Mexico (Sept. 24) was to depose Almonte from all his offices, and to ignore all the acts done under the self-imposed Presidency of this arch impostor.

CHAPTER X.

POSITION OF ENGLAND.

HAVING thus briefly noticed the state Mexico presented in the summer of 1862, it only remains to point out what fairly appears to be the relative position of our country as to those matters wherein we can act to the advantage of civilisation as well as our own material interests; and, undoubtedly, the first consideration is the encouragement of, nay more, the participation in the system of smuggling which has been the rule on the stations of our navy on the coast of Mexico for years. 'Whether it is that the total want of check from the higher powers at home, or the perfect impunity of the gain, has blunted the moral sense of our officers, but not one of them seemed to think it was more than a great shame to deprive the Mexican Government of their legitimate revenue. I saw myself the boats' crews of our flag-ship at Vera Cruz bring bags on bags of dollars to be shipped to England by the steamer which brought me home, not one dollar

of which had paid a farthing to the Mexican exchequer: and the public journals in England encourage the idea of this being a legitimate employment; for I found a letter directed to one of the most widely circulated and most praiseworthy periodicals of our country, pointing out this in such clear terms that, with the permission of the writer, I insert it entire.

W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh.

Mexico: July 27, 1861.

GENTLEMEN,

Your interesting Journal in one of its late numbers contains an account of a silver smuggling adventure on the coasts of this unhappy country. It bears some evidence of having been worked up a bit; but I have no reason for believing that the main incidents are not correct; and I was very sorry to see such a discreditable adventure appear in your Journal, without one word of condemnation,—on the contrary, a tone or air of approbation runs through the narrative, as if the writer imagined it was not only harmless, but positively meritorious, in H.M.'s ships and H.M.'s officers being engaged in a wilful and deliberate breach of morality and violation of the laws of another and a friendly state! It is unhappily too true, that H.M.'s ships and officers are *often* engaged in these disreputable transactions, especially on the Pacific coast, to the very great disgrace and dishonour of H.M.'s service. And it is also unhappily true, that the repeated remonstrance of this country to the British Government on the subject have

not produced any mitigation of the evil. But pray do not let us so far forget the principles of propriety and public decorum as to represent such 'adventures' as anything else than that which they are,—namely, *crimes*, which *a man* of honour—be he officer, or be he merchant—would *scorn to be engaged in*. What would you say in England if a French or Danish man-of-war was to anchor in one of your ports, and not only encourage and protect a system of contraband for miles along the coast, but even to assist it with armed boats and barges? Yet this is what H.M.'s ships do every year in the ports of Mexico, frequently overawing the coast-guard, and embarking the smuggled silver by 'superior force.' Is there one system of ethics for the temperate zone and another for the tropics? The Queen's ships assist in defrauding the revenue, and the Queen's representatives complain that the country can't pay its creditors.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

A. GRANT.

But the real delinquents are our British consulates; they receive and store the specie which comes down to the coast, until a safe opportunity arrives for smuggling it out of the country.

All commercial consulships, especially at ports, should be abolished. They are sought and coveted *solely* as a protection to smuggling. The appointment is of *no other value whatever to these men*.

For instance —

One commercial house on the west coast has acquired immense wealth and immense notoriety by this kind of 'adventure,'—smuggling in and smuggling out. The chief was a Spaniard, a colonel in the Spanish army, but got himself named British Consul; and then all the family became English. His son, a Mexican (the mother is Spanish), is now British Consul, but never resides at his post; he appoints one of his own commercial subordinates to do the duty. The British Consulate is convenient on account of the immunity and local influence it affords; and has been for upwards of thirty years a most useful appanage to the mercantile concern, to which it is *entirely subservient*. These appointments are very disgraceful, and our national honour and national character have become a bye-word and a reproach. The British Government listens to no representation on the subject, and our envoys there *have been influenced* to connive at and support the infamous system.

It is a *crime* to send such men as these to *new and distant countries as representatives of the honour and dignity of Britain, where the honour and character of the nation is reflected by the conduct of the individual representing it to an extent unknown in Europe*. The man wanted in Mexico is *one of average capacity, sound judgement, and, above all, inflexible probity and principle*; such a man would exercise a *very great* influence, and a highly beneficial one, for both countries, or rather for all. These people want a British minister whom they *can consult in*

their difficulties, in whose judgement they *can confide*, and whose opinion they can respect.

The next consideration is to hold up to the Mexicans themselves, for just appreciation, the disgraceful state of their public offices and employés. They have now undeniably able men at the head of affairs, and men of energy, perhaps a little too much so. Now, then, is the time for calling on them as friends to commence sweeping out the Augean stable of official corruption. To give some idea of how things go on, I subjoin a few instances.

One of the palace brokers told me that, having credits on the treasury to pass for the commissariat account to the amount of \$500,000, for which he received one per cent. commission, he applied to the chief clerk, who said it would take six weeks to make up the accounts; and, after some discussion, demanded \$1,000 as a fee. My informant demurred, as it was a mere routine duty; but the other insisted, and they parted in anger. Well, for six weeks he tried his hand, and failed at every turn; so, in sheer despair, he went to his friend the chief clerk, and said—‘I am willing to give you your \$1,000.’ ‘Ah!’ said the other, ‘I thought you would come to your senses; but I must have \$4,000 more now, as my second here

takes it into his head to look into matters, and I must give him some.' The business was done in six days, as soon as the *douceur* was forthcoming.

In the archives of the British Foreign Office will be found this story, sent home by Mr. Lettsome, the British *chargé d'affaires* of that day. Some ten years ago, an English merchant named Macintosh, being in failing circumstances, and realising his outstanding credits, tried to pass an order on the treasury for some \$20,000 or \$30,000. The claim was of course disputed, and there was some reason for it; but the secretary, *who held office till this year*, Don Lucas Palacio Mascarolla, offered him five per cent. for his claims, which Macintosh, being very hard up, took. The whole money was paid Don Lucas without a word, and the five per cent. was eked out in dribblets to Macintosh, and was not all settled when he died.

The order of the day is this: you go into the office to one of the clerks, who gives you a seat and a cigarette; you beg him, as a favour, to look at your treasury bill. He says, 'He is so busy you must come next week.' You say, 'My dear friend, it only requires your signature and the office stamp.' He says, 'Well, I am very poor just now; would it be convenient to lend me \$20?' You say, 'It is not worth my while to spare \$20; but if you will

get it cleared by to-morrow I will give you \$10.' He then says, 'But I want it particularly to-day.' You smile graciously, and say, 'Well, then, do it to-day and you shall have the \$10.' And in a quarter of an hour you have your order; otherwise you may haunt the office for months in vain. What would Englishmen think of this method of procedure in the state offices?

About eight years ago, one of the principal English houses imported some two dozen handsome brass rocking-chairs, at about \$12 each. They were mis-described in the manifest, and were seized at Vera Cruz. The merchant went to the Minister of Finance (Hacienda Publica), who was personally known to him, and said it was a mistake of ignorance in mis-translating rocking-chairs into Spanish; and begged, that on paying the duty and all expenses, the chairs might be given up. 'No,' said the conscientious Minister of Inland Revenue; 'I am convinced it was a fraud, and such things must be put a stop to.' Whereupon the merchant said, 'It is a pity, as they are such very comfortable and elegant chairs. I intended making a present of one to your wife, and I'll tell her how cruel you are.' 'Don't do that,' said the Minister; 'it was very kind of you to think of her, and I must give you the

order for their passing;’ which he did. But it is no wonder that such laxity prevailed when a French Minister was publicly accused of using his privilege of passing baggage duty free, to bring in carriages, cigars, and millinery, which were openly sold in the streets of Mexico without disguise.

The next point will be to urge the Mexican Government to rearrange their revenue so as to give a greater security of income, and more especially with regard to the duties on specie, on which, they must mainly rely for payments to foreign bondholders. There is no delicacy in putting this to them, for they have frequently desired advice and urgently; and first, as to the mints.

Of the almost universal system of monopolies established in Mexico under the oppressive dominion of Spain, but two instances have survived to modern times: one, the tobacco monopoly, which was finally overthrown at the establishment of the government of Comonfort, under the revolution of Ayutla; the other, the prohibition of the export of the precious metals, except after coinage, at a few monopolised mints, which still remains. And this latter, as the production of the precious metals is a more general and important branch, weighs still more heavily upon the industry of the country than even the

former restrictions in the cultivation and sale of tobacco.

The products of its mines must, for a long period, and probably in an increasing ratio, form the chief item in the exports of Mexico. Upon those exports the importations into the country must be based; and to stimulate their amount, every restriction upon their free circulation and ready access to market must be removed, and the products of the mines be placed as free as the products of the wheat-fields.

The system of monopolised mints, and export and other duties on the precious metals, which now prevails in Mexico, is the following:—

Capitalists taking advantage of the frequently recurring necessities of the Government have, for a long period, been able to procure contracts for the management of the Government mints, with the exclusive right of coinage, within a certain district, by advancing to the Government a certain amount of money as a bonus, and a further amount usually as a loan. The most notorious, because the most important and onerous, of these contracts is that of the mint at the city of Mexico, which will serve to show the system followed in nearly all the others.

This mint was contracted in 1857 for the term of ten years to an association of capitalists (Spaniards and

Mexican officials under the cover of an American name), who advanced to the Government, in effective money and what was made to represent it, the sum of \$200,000 as a bonus and \$300,000 as a loan, or \$500,000 in all, for the *exclusive* privilege of coinage within a district of 150 leagues radius from the city of Mexico, for ten years, with the condition that the term should be continued until the Government should have repaid any balance that might be due, and *with the further condition*, that the Government should strictly prohibit the exportation of uncoined silver or gold from any point within this district of 150 leagues radius; thus requiring that all the products of the mines within this immense extent of territory, including the mines of Tehuacan, which lie near the port of Vera Cruz, the mines of Tasco, which lie near the Pacific coast, and the rich mines of Real del Monte, which lie nearer Tampico, should all be brought to the city of Mexico (ignoring the greater risk of transit and the expense of carriage), and there be made to pay toll for an unnecessary coinage, before finding their market abroad, where all that can be realised is their intrinsic value. The penalties for any exportation in an uncoined shape are very severe, beside the danger of confiscation incurred. For all this oppressive

restriction on the movement of the products of the mines within this important district, the Government gets, besides the advance of the speculative capitalists, which of course was soon squandered, but the trifling sum of \$45,000 to \$60,000 per annum, in a charge of one per cent. on all amounts coined, and which comes out of the pockets of the miner, not from the contractors.

To cover so enormous advances, the mint contractors must realise, legitimately or illegitimately, a very heavy tax upon the precious metals passing through their hands. This charge is nominally four to four and a half per cent. ; but their opportunities for getting more from the unassayed metal are very great. The most injurious effect, however, upon the mining production, is found in the necessity of transporting their valuable products, always exposed to risk of loss, from points nearer the coast to the capital, there to remain, as in the time of Miramon, exposed to the rapacity of authorities that do not respect even the seal of the British Legation; and then to incur the delay and additional risk of transportation in large Government conductas, the movements of which are of course publicly known, to the port of shipment. How much more readily these products could find their way as they come fresh

from the mine, in small quantities and by ordinary and unheralded channels, a silent but healthy stream, to the various points of export!

Under the present regulations of the Mexican revenue laws, no movement of the products of the mines, or of coined money, can take place legally without application is first made for a Government permit, and the respective duty paid. The design is to secure this latter; the practical effect is so to expose the movements of these valuable and easily stolen products, that, except in times of most perfect order and security, it is unsafe to move them except in such vast sums as will justify the employment of an army of soldiers for their protection.

The various taxes or duties upon the precious metals are the following:—

1. *Direcho de quinto*, now three per cent., payable at the moment of the deposit of bars for coinage; and one real per mark for the mining college.

2. Government's coinage duty, one per cent.

3. Mint contractor's coinage and assay charge, nominally reckoned at four per cent. or four and a half per cent., but really importing considerably more.

4. Government circulation duty, two per cent., payable on the movement of any money from point to point, or to place of export.

5. Export duty to Government, six per cent., payable usually half in the interior and half at port of export.

Here are duties amounting to over *sixteen per cent.* on the principal product of the country, to be *advanced* before that product has yet been embarked on board the vessel which is to carry it to market.

Beside all these must be added frequent additional charges for escort, commission of correspondent in the capital, commission of correspondent at port of export, and charges of embarkation, insurance, and freight to destination,—the two latter not less than one and a half to two per cent.; and then the charges of correspondent and commission of sale or exchange in, say, London or New York.

In all, these charges and items swelling the expenses placed upon the exports of Mexico to upwards of twenty per cent., or *one-fifth of their entire value.*

What branch of national industry can sustain these enormous charges, to say nothing of the loss of time and general insecurity in Mexico, which must be taken into account.

It may be observed in passing, as a singular feature of misguided diplomacy in Mexico, that the contract for the mint of that city, which is the principal one in the Republic, would long ere this have been thrown over by the government of Juarez, had it not been persistently and pertinaciously sustained by the American Legation, although it is notorious

that there is not \$5,000 of American capital invested in it; and that the American name, which is used, is merely a cloak for the protection of Spanish and Mexican speculators and monopolists.

A wise policy for the encouragement of the commerce of Mexico, requires the brushing away of all these oppressive charges and restrictions upon the free movement of the precious metals, and the encouragement, by every means, of this great branch of industry, the chief source of Mexico's exports, and upon the amount of which her importations must depend.

It is a fact our Government are never likely to learn through the Legation — that the ports on the Pacific, which for the last four years have never contributed a shilling to the exchequer, are capable, if properly administered, of producing with ease a nett annual revenue of \$4,000,000, and that Vera Cruz and Tampico can produce even a larger sum. A good government would have no difficulty in meeting all its liabilities. They are a mere bagatelle when compared with the resources of the country.

The next is a more difficult consideration, — viz., the part we should take under the disruption of the fraudulent convention of last year between France, Spain, and England. It was worse than fraudulent, because the deliberate intention to possess Mexico

on the part of two out of the three contracting powers, was foolish; palpably so in the case of Spain, who has retired covered with the ignominy of failure and of being found out, and with France necessitating an engulfing of life and treasure of which no one can see the end. A naval officer who arrived in England three days ago told me that, out of a regiment of 1,200 men and 40 officers he was at Vera Cruz with in June last, there were only 400 men and *one officer* left in August. But our Crimean experience tells us how impenetrable is the secrecy of the information sent to France on such occasions, — *such losses never transpire*. We fortunately have blundered out as we blundered into the embroglio: what our original intention was it is difficult to gather from the speeches of the Foreign Minister and his secretary.

Earl RUSSELL said that Commodore Dunlop and Sir Charles Wyke never went to New York. Sir Charles Wyke wrote home to say that it was his intention to go there, but he never executed that intention. He was now living at Mexico, *but not in an official character*, and he had informed the Mexican Government that he would not resume that character until the convention had been ratified by his Government. The Spanish Secretary of Legation was also, he believed, living there in an unofficial capacity. With regard to the address of the French Government to

the Chamber, it was certainly liable to misapprehension. But the papers which had been laid before Parliament were likely to remove that misapprehension, and he should write despatches upon the subject which would, he hoped, tend to the same result. I beg to take this opportunity of making a statement to your lordships as to matters of considerable importance, upon which it is desirable no misapprehension should exist. It has been stated in the public prints that a convention has been entered into by Sir C. Wyke and Commodore Dunlop on one side, and the Mexican Government on the other, by which the British claims on Mexico will be satisfied, and that the convention has been ratified by Her Majesty's Government. As to the first part, it is quite true that a convention has been signed by Sir C. Wyke and Commodore Dunlop, and it has been sent home for ratification. The arrangement contemplated for the satisfaction of British claims was fair and liberal, but we found that *the convention referred to another convention between Mexico and the United States; and fearing that it might involve this country in difficulties, Her Majesty's Government determined not to ratify it.* There is another point upon which I wish to make a statement to the House. It is generally believed in France, and much circulated here, that Her Majesty's troops, together with the Spanish troops, were withdrawn, leaving the French troops alone to contend with the difficulties of the situation. After the temporary check which the French troops received, *no one can be surprised that the French Government have resolved to send large reinforcements to Mexico:* but the order is not founded upon any course taken by the

British Government. In the original convention of October there was no specific engagement as to the number of troops to be sent on the part of the different Governments, but communications were made separately by each Government. The Spaniards declared that they meant to send 6,000 or 7,000 troops. The French said at first that they would send 2,000, which was afterwards increased to 2,500 men. The British Government proposed to send a squadron with 700 marines, to be landed, if necessary, for the occupation of forts. The marines were landed, and for a short time occupied some forts. It seemed that the land forces met with difficulties, and Commodore Dunlop, in order not to have the appearance in any way of leaving the Allies, said he would provide, by his own activity and resources, camp, equipage, and conveyance. That, however, has not been approved by the Home Government, *and orders were sent out* that the marines should be reembarked. Commodore Dunlop, on his side, very soon found that there was no immediate danger of collision with the Mexicans, and he determined to send away the marines, *who were never intended to march up the country*. They were accordingly removed from Vera Cruz. After this came the convention, and the Allied Commissioners agreed to a *procès verbal*, with regard to which I will now say nothing, as I do not wish to enter *into the great question* involved in it. But it should be known that at that time there were only 150 marines in occupation of the various forts, and when the rupture took place between the French Commissioners on the one side, and the English and Spanish Commissioners on the other, it was determined by Commo-

dore Dunlop to haul down the British flag in the ports of Mexico and to withdraw this small force. There was thus no question of withdrawing troops from Mexico, for there never were any land troops there; the only force we ever sent in the naval squadron was a force of 700 marines, the greater number of whom were withdrawn some time previously. (Hear.) I thought it necessary to make this statement, as I believe that great misapprehension has arisen on the subject. I am informed that considerable indignation has been expressed in France as to the presumed withdrawal of troops by this country at a very critical moment. That supposition, as I have shown, has no foundation in fact, *as there were no British troops to be withdrawn from Mexico.*

Mr. LAYARD wished to say a few words upon the general policy of the Mexican intervention. As to the general policy of the affair he thought the mission of our Government was perfectly clear. There were many outrages to be redressed, many claims to be enforced, besides those of the Mexican bondholders. But, even with regard to the Mexican bondholders, the Government had carefully avoided mixing up those which had been ratified by convention with those which had not been so ratified. It was not the part of the British Government to go to war to enforce claims like those of the greater part of the Mexican bondholders. The Mexican bondholders had various claims on the Mexican Government. A certain portion of them were recognised under a convention, known as the Dunlop Convention. Two solemn conventions had been entered into, which it was the bounden duty of the Government to enforce.

Besides these, there were many other claims. The papers laid on the table referred to various claims which British subjects and firms had on the Mexican Government. These were perfectly legitimate claims; but besides these claims, there were outrages of a very serious kind which had been committed on Her Majesty's subjects, for which no redress had been obtained—outrages on the British Government of the most serious nature: for instance, the outrage on the British embassy, when Miramon ordered a room to be broken open, and property placed under the seal of the British Legation was carried off, in violation of the most sacred rights, from the residence of the British Minister. More than that, a sum of money belonging to British subjects, which had been sent down to the sea coast, had been pillaged by an officer of the Mexican Government, acting on their responsibility. No doubt the British Government had a right to demand redress for those outrages, and to enforce those claims. The principle was undeniable. It was one of the most difficult things for a Government to deal with a weak State. They did not know exactly what to do. The moment they made any attempt to interfere, the parties made any terms, and a convention was signed; but scarcely had that taken place than the same course had to be renewed. A strong Government did not like to interfere with a weak Government; but, if they altogether refused, British subjects whose property had been destroyed and whose lives had been threatened, would have a right to complain. He ventured to say nothing could be more forbearing than the instructions of his noble friend, with which Sir Charles Wyke went to Mexico. It was stated distinctly,

that if the Mexican Government would now give the redress to which we were entitled, we should forget all that had gone by, and renew with them the most friendly relations. The noble lord had spoken as if Juarez, on coming to the Presidency, was ready to do everything that was required; but, on the contrary, *outrages had been committed as frequently as before*, and the very sum taken by force from the British residency, which the Government was pledged to pay, had been withheld. The parties, indeed, were prosecuted, but acquitted on the ground that there was no theft, but a mere occupation of the British funds. Sir Charles Wyke succeeded in obtaining redress from Juarez, but the convention was not ratified; it was rejected by the Mexican Legislature. Over and over again in his despatches Sir Charles Wyke called on the British Government to interfere; no one could be more urgent than Sir Charles Wyke upon that point. We were not the only power that had claims on Mexico; we were not the only power which had suffered outrages that called for redress. The French Government had claims, though not so large or so important as we had. The Spanish Government had also claims, and the claims of Spain had been recognised by a treaty known as the Almonte Treaty. *That treaty was set at nought.** The first power to take any step towards interference in Mexico was Spain. Spain proposed to take possession of Vera Cruz and Tampico. Spain fully made up her mind to that. This was plain from the papers which had been laid on the table. The French Government was equally ready with Spain to enforce its claims; and what

* See p. 444, App. III.

were we to do? Were we to cooperate with them, or to take independent action? Had we not interfered at all, it would have been said that we neglected to enforce British claims, and that we had abandoned British rights. If we had taken independent action we should probably have come into collision with France or Spain, and our only course appeared to be that which we did take. In order that our action should be clearly understood, the Convention of London was signed. We had no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico; *our object was solely to enforce our claims*, and the occupying of any territory or place on the coast would be only temporary. The Government from the very beginning said that there was no intention of making any advance into the interior—all that was intended was to occupy Vera Cruz, to which we had a right and title by treaty, and that only a force of 700 marines was sent to occupy San Juan d'Ulloa. Now, he must say, no doubt Sir Charles Wyke had acted for the best, but he had committed two mistakes at the commencement, which were not justified by any instructions he received from his Government; indeed, they were diametrically opposed to his instructions. The first mistake consisted in his issuing a proclamation stating that the object of the intervention was the regeneration of the country; and the second was the attempt to place the marines on the same footing with the French and Spanish forces and send them into the interior. These mistakes were made in direct opposition to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, although, no doubt, Sir C. Wyke acted with the very best intentions. Soon after the landing the Mexican Government signified their wish to

bring matters to an amicable termination, and the Convention of Soledad was agreed upon. Then appeared upon the scene a man who, according to all accounts, was the most promising Mexican statesman, and the man most likely to restore order and establish a strong government under Juarez. He referred to General Doblado, who made very liberal proposals to the Allies, which had every prospect of being accepted. Unfortunately, however, General Almonte, a refugee, intervened—a man who had entertained the idea that there was a strong monarchical party in Mexico, which had only to be appealed to to rise at once and set up a monarchy in the place of the government of Juarez. All the information which our Government had received was directly opposed to that opinion. General Almonte, however, appeared to have persuaded the representative of France that a monarchical party really existed, and that it would be useless to treat any longer with the Mexican Government; and he induced the French to withdraw their adhesion from the Convention of Soledad, and renounce all communication with the Government of Juarez. Her Majesty's Government looked upon that as a violation of the treaty (hear), as we had gone to Mexico with the intention of not interfering in the internal affairs of that country; and they felt that they could not decline to hold communication with Juarez, who represented the Mexican people and Government. The Spanish authorities took exactly the same view as we did, and General Prim acted like a man of honour in refusing to be a party to any attempt to raise to the throne of Mexico a king, contrary, as he believed, to the wishes of the people. Our 700 marines consequently reembarked

and retired. Our Government had been unjustly reproached for deserting France. Those who knew Vera Cruz were aware that it was impossible to remain there from early in the spring to an advanced period of the autumn; and in withdrawing our marines from that place we had only done as we should have done in either case, whether there had been war or peace. The French Government had publicly admitted that we had acted with perfect frankness. The Church party in Mexico—a party who, if he must use a strong term, were the greatest ruffians (hear, hear), and who had been guilty of the most horrible outrages upon civilisation—gathered round General Almonte in his attempt to establish monarchy; but when the French advanced into the country they found that the warnings which had been given them were perfectly true, and that no monarchical party really existed there. The French General himself, with great frankness, admitted this, avowing that if he had dreamt that there was no party in favour of monarchy, he would not have advanced into the midst of a hostile country. That being so, what were Her Majesty's Government to do? His noble friend had rather accused the Government of deserting Sir C. Wyke.

Lord R. MONTAGU.—Of not giving him precise instructions.

Mr. LAYARD.—It should be remembered that the Government never foresaw the state of things described by his noble friend. On the contrary, when the marines were withdrawn, when the Convention of Soledad had been broken, and the French troops took action by themselves, Sir C. Wyke wrote to his Government to say that he was

going to leave Mexico, and they accordingly believed that he would have retired to New York. Instead of that, he remained in the country, and entered into the convention with General Doblado that had been mentioned to the house. The Government were perfectly astonished when they heard that he had signed that instrument. The convention was sent home to the Government, and was not ratified by them. His noble friend misstated the reasons why it was not ratified. The question was one merely of principle. The principle on which we had insisted in all our relations with the central States of America was this— not to allow them to involve themselves towards the United States in a manner that might lead to inconvenient results. The convention declared that a certain sum should be paid to the British claimants out of money to be supplied by the United States, who, in return, were to have a kind of mortgage upon all the waste lands in Mexico. That arrangement might have produced a state of things which Her Majesty's Government were desirous to see avoided. Again, the convention provided that in default of the United States advancing the money, those waste lands should be mortgaged to the British Government. Her Majesty's Government were as much opposed to that as to their being mortgaged to the United States, thinking it might lead to disagreeable consequences in regard to our relations with the United States or other powers. We were also to have been bound to occupy certain ports in Mexico by our naval force for the collection of the dues from which the claims on the Mexican Government were to have been met. Her Majesty's Government did not think that would at all have been a

convenient arrangement. These, then, were some of the important grounds upon which they did not deem it right to ratify the convention, and he believed they were perfectly valid grounds. In saying that he cast no reflection upon Sir C. Wyke, who appeared to have done his best; and if the convention had been unaccompanied by the objectionable features which he had described, it might have been quite satisfactory. That was the short history of our policy towards Mexico. We had long been in communication with the Mexican Government upon the subject of the claims of British subjects, and the Governments of France and of Spain had frequently called upon us to join with them to enforce those claims. But Earl Russell had always laid it down as a rule, that if we did interfere it must be upon the distinct understanding that other religions than the Roman Catholic should be tolerated in Mexico. That was at the time the Church party was in power, and when every person who professed any other religion than the Roman Catholic was subject to persecution. All that Earl Russell had done in the instructions was to refer to a despatch upon the subject that had been written a year or two before, reciting the principle upon which alone the British Government could interfere or mediate in Mexico. The second question of the noble Lord referred to what he called the Italian expedition to Mexico. The facts were that there were Italians in Mexico who had claims upon the Government, and when England joined with France and Spain in interfering in Mexico the Italian Government enquired, unofficially, whether we would assist the Italians in Mexico. The British Government felt there would be inconvenience

in taking up the claims of others than its own countrymen, and it was suggested to the Italian Government that they might send a vessel with the joint expedition, and that some official person should be on board to whom the Italians might apply. No ship, however, was sent, and Sir C. Wyke merely alluded to the possibility of an Italian vessel being sent out, but there was no intention that the Italian Government should enter into any convention. Having gone through the principal points connected with this subject, he could only say that he did not think the Government could have adopted any other policy than that which they had acted upon. They could not abstain from all interference, or British subjects might fairly have complained that their interests were neglected by their Government while the subjects of other powers were protected. They did avoid all interference in the affairs of the country, and he thought the policy we had pursued would increase British influence in Mexico, and lead to a better observance in future of engagements towards this country. He hoped also, after the clear proofs that had been given of the non-existence in Mexico of a monarchical party, that France would open negotiations with any Government that did really represent the feelings of the people of Mexico, and thus bring to a pacific termination the differences that had heretofore existed. (Hear, hear.)

But the answers of Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald put matters in a very different light.

The Earl of MALMESBURY said he had seen in the public prints a statement that the feeling in Mexico was that Sir

Charles Wyke had taken a strong part with the Mexican Government as against the proceedings of the French. He did not believe it at the time, but it was alleged that Sir Charles had attended some public representation given at a theatre for the benefit of the wounded Mexicans. This, if true, was a very ill-judged act. *There was in this country no feeling whatever against the French as to their proceedings in Mexico.* His own feeling was that they had made a great mistake in point of policy; but the state of Mexico was such, that any change in the Government there must be an improvement. (Hear.) The people of Mexico, and the world generally, were likely to profit, by the acts of the French, however opposed those acts might be to the interests of France. He was extremely glad to hear the explanation just given respecting a matter which had excited something like a disagreeable feeling towards this country in France. He entirely agreed in the modifications which the noble Earl had thought it his duty to make in the convention. Those modifications were most wise and prudent, and the dangers apprehended by the noble Earl were just those which he should himself think were most likely to occur. But the noble Earl had hardly spoken sufficiently strongly as to the indignation felt in France respecting the supposed desertion of its ally by the English Government. This was not only common rumour—it was not only a natural misunderstanding of the facts of the case; *but the address made by the French Government to the Chambers was so worded that the misunderstanding was likely to be prolonged.* He had read the address in question, and undoubtedly its meaning was that there was some

common agreement between the two powers with respect to a military advance in Mexico, which agreement we had not carried out; that at a very critical moment we had deserted the French troops; and that they had consequently been overpowered by enemies whom, with our assistance, they might have resisted. Now, it was certainly important, with a view both to the honour of the country and the real facts of the case, that the noble Earl should point out to the French Government what those facts were, and should do what he could to undeceive the people of France respecting those facts, which, as far as he could understand, were of the precise character indicated by the noble Earl. *The public misapprehension in France was, however, likely to be very much strengthened by the language addressed by the French Government to the Chamber.*

Mr. FITZGERALD said it had been wittily observed of a certain person that nothing became him so well in life as his going out of it, and he thought the same observation might be applied to the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in relation to Mexico; for the only satisfactory point about it was that, in spite of themselves, they had been forced to withdraw from further interference. He did not say that the Government could have avoided all interference. On the contrary, not only with reference to repeated outrages upon British subjects, but also with reference to the removal of a large sum of money from the British Legation, it was impossible that the Government could avoid taking some decided steps. But he did find fault with the manner in which they had fulfilled that duty. The hon. gentleman had told the house that the Government had from the first

declared they would not be parties to any interference in the internal affairs of Mexico, but his complaint was that they had entered into a convention with France and Spain when, if they did not know that the object of both France and Spain was to interfere actively in the internal affairs of Mexico, the British Government were almost the only persons who were ignorant of the fact. For years refugees from Mexico had constantly represented to the British Government and to the French Government that the only means of restoring order in that country was by the active intervention of European powers and the establishment of a monarchical form of government. Had Her Majesty's Government no warning of those views being held by the French Government? M. Thouvenel, in one of his despatches, said, 'We do not wish to interfere; but we think that the presence of our forces there will give that moral support to the monarchical feeling which we believe to exist, and that there will be a chance and opportunity for the establishment of a new and regenerated Government.' It was idle to say, when Almonte was constantly coming to this country, and communicating with the Government and with public bodies, and after the language of M. Thouvenel—it was idle to say that the Government had not a distinct warning that it was the intention of the French Government to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, and possibly to establish a new form of government. It was stated in the convention that they were not to interfere with the wishes of the Mexicans in the establishment of any form of government; that was not language that could be used if it had been expected that the form of government then existing would continue

to exist, but it showed that it was contemplated that the appearance of foreign troops might cause a revolution, and possibly a change of government. Everyone must have been aware of the object of France and of Spain, and it was made plain by the speech of Señor Collantes in the Spanish Chambers, that the object of interference was to establish a monarchical form of government. His hon. friend had truly said that the last thing for an English government to do was to attempt by force of arms to collect bad debts, or debts contracted with British subjects who had entered upon speculations with their eyes open, knowing the attendant risks, and guarding themselves against those risks by larger profits. That had been the principle upon which successive governments had acted; and although the Government with which he had been connected had used its good offices to endeavour to obtain justice for the Mexican bondholders, yet in the very last despatch written by them upon that subject, they laid it down that the claims of the bondholders were in the nature of private claims, and could not be enforced by arms. His hon. friend had said that the claims of the bondholders were not the object of our interference; but it was a curious fact that *the first convention made by Sir C. Wyke*, the ratification of which was refused by the Mexican Parliament, *had reference solely to the claims of the bondholders, and to no other claims*; and yet it was said that our interference was to obtain redress for grievances, and to stipulate for the due performance of the conventions. "He thought the noble lord at the head of the Foreign Department had committed a mistake in his conduct when ratification of the convention

was refused by the Mexican Parliament. The terms of the convention were objectionable, for by it British consuls were not only to collect money, and to apply it in payment of the claims of British subjects, but they were also to be made agents for the subjects of every foreign country having claims upon the Mexican Government. Another stipulation was that the endorsement of British officers should be requisite to give validity to securities to be issued by the Mexican Government. There was another matter of grave complaint against Her Majesty's Government, and that was that they should have entered into this convention to enforce the pecuniary claims of each of the powers who were parties to the convention, without knowing in the slightest degree the nature, character, justification, or amount of the claims which they had undertaken to assist in enforcing. (Hear, hear.) They were told that the claims of the French Government were for a comparatively small amount—he thought 40,000*l.* was named; and yet we afterwards found that, without knowing what we were about, we had committed ourselves to the enforcement of claims which Lord Russell had spoken of as the most extravagant, the most extortionate, and the most unjust. (Hear, hear.) The French Government had since claimed \$15,000,000, and if we were not committed to the enforcement of that claim, it was owing to circumstances which we had not foreseen, and not to our wisdom in making the convention. (Hear, hear.) The present position of affairs was as unsatisfactory as possible, and only one thing could be said for it—that it was better than we could have expected some time ago. But that the

Government should have given British arms to enforce certain claims, that they should have thought it necessary to enter into a solemn convention, and that they should be represented in the expedition by a force of 700 marines, seemed to him to be placing this country in a relation to foreign powers utterly beneath her dignity and honour. (Hear, hear). He thought his noble friend was under a misapprehension when he said that the treaty with the United States Government had been refused. He believed it was still under consideration, and he was of opinion that it would be a dangerous thing for this country to lend its sanction, even indirectly, to such a treaty. He hoped that his noble friend's suggestion that we might form another treaty with Mexico of a more satisfactory character than that which had lately been attempted, would be realised, and he hoped also that we should not be found by the side of France in enforcing a change of government on a friendly people, or on the side of Spain in any schemes for the recovery of her ancient supremacy in Mexico, and, still less, that we should be placed by the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in opposition to the Liberal party in an independent nation, thus giving a chance to the enemies of freedom and of liberal institutions in that country of again raising their heads and of establishing what he believed would be one of the vilest governments that ever disgraced a country. (Hear, hear).

In the sitting of the Spanish Congress of June 11, the Minister of Foreign Affairs replied as follows to the interpellation made by M. Olozaga

on the policy of the Government with regard to Mexico : —

The acts of the Government have been censured by M. Olozaga with a degree of acrimony even surpassing that of foreign critics. He would have us believe that the war in Africa produced a deep impression in the country, while the expedition to Mexico passed almost unnoticed. I think, however, that the entry of the Spanish troops into San Juan d'Ulloa made some little sensation, as you must all remember. The Mexican expedition was a necessity, not only because it was earnestly solicited by the Mexicans residing in Europe, *and especially by those in Paris*, but also because there exists in those regions a republic which threatened the Mexicans with absorption. Hence the expedition combined in 1859. *The object was, therefore, the maintenance of the integrity of the Mexican territory.* When M. Olozaga asserts that Spain had a concealed motive for undertaking that expedition, and insinuates the existence of a secret convention, I cannot but ask him whether he thinks the Government would not, after the conferences of Orizaba, have been anxious to render that convention public? *But no convention has ever existed*, except that of October 31. What was the origin of that convention? Spain could not go alone to Mexico; we could not do otherwise than act conjointly with the two other powers. The refusal to satisfy the claims of Spanish, French, and English creditors, the murder of subjects of the three States, menaces and violence towards their representatives, made intervention in Mexico a duty, *but intervention with-*

out any after-thought of putting the least restraint upon the inhabitants of that republic as to their internal affairs. The convention was clear. The obligations of the powers signing it were well defined, especially on the point of not directly interfering in the internal affairs of Mexico. Our intention was to propose a suspension of hostilities between the conflicting parties in Mexico. Why? Because we hoped, that by adopting a determined mode of election, an assembly would be formed capable of giving the country a stable government. Was not that a noble object? Would it have been worthy of three great powers to go to Mexico merely to obtain satisfaction for grievances? To realise these ideas the Government began by giving instruction to its plenipotentiary. Does M. Olozaga find anything mysterious in the instructions? Does not every line express the thought of Spain, that the integrity of the Mexican territory must be maintained? With respect to the despatch of October 21, *in which the French Ministry broaches the question of erecting a throne for a foreign prince in Mexico*, what was the answer of the Government? Why, actuated by its attachment to dynastic interests and the honour of the country, it replied that Spain would not be pleased to see that throne occupied by any but a Spanish prince. We are told that this answer was long delayed. It is true that we had been before *indirectly apprised of the existence of a wish to establish a monarchy in Mexico*; but the Government had no official knowledge of the fact, and the treaty made no allusion to any such matter. On the contrary, it plainly stated that the expedition was not going to Mexico to make any change in the Government by force, and the

Queen's Government always insisted that the independence of the Mexican people should be respected in their political movements for reconstituting their Government. How then can M. Olozaga have entertained the thought that we were going to Mexico to establish a monarchy for an Austrian prince? Among the many absurd rumours which have been current, was one to the effect that the Spanish Government originated the idea of a monarchy in Mexico. When the question as to what form of government would best suit Mexico was under consideration, the Queen's Government expressed a preference for monarchy, but insisted on the necessity of leaving that point to be freely decided by the Mexicans themselves. We have always declared that we would take no part in forcibly establishing a government opposed to the freely-expressed will of the country. I am astonished that M. Olozaga should throw doubts on the conduct of the Governor-General of Cuba. When the expedition was ready, the Government informed the friendly powers of the step it was taking with regard to Mexico. This communication led to the signing of the convention; but when the Government was able to notify this fact to General Serrano, and send him instructions with the royal orders appointing the chief of the expedition and recommending him to delay its departure, it was too late: the expedition had already sailed. On receiving the despatches the Governor-General sent off a steamer, which he hoped would be in time to prevent the squadron from going to Vera Cruz. This hope was disappointed. Nothing was done, however, contrary to the treaty of October 31, nor was there any motive of mistrust in the departure of

the expedition. Nothing in M. Olozaga's speech has astonished me so much as his blaming the appointment of the Count de Reuss to the command of the expedition. At the meeting of the plenipotentiaries at Vera Cruz, the question was started as to whether the claims of the three powers ought to be jointly and collectively supported. That question was brought forward in consequence of the demand of the French plenipotentiary for the payment of a sum of \$13,000,000, being the amount which the house of Jecker & Co. had lent to President Miramon. The English plenipotentiary objected to that claim, and, as General Prim could not interfere in the matter, it was resolved to adopt the plan of sending a collective note to the Mexican Government, recommending it to constitute itself in a proper manner in order to extricate the country from the condition in which it was then placed. General Prim admitted that he had departed from his instructions, which were restricted to declaring that a collective note should be presented, specifying the claims of the three powers. The Spanish Government had declared that the collective note was not in conformity with his instructions, and still more that it was a useless act, as the answer would be that no government could be more stable than that of Juarez. The only inconvenience of such an act consisted in delaying the consequences of the expedition. The Government thought that the means of conciliation ought not to go so far as to allow the Mexican Cabinet to abuse the indulgence shown, and that consequently more energetic measures should be had recourse to in case conciliatory means did not give an immediate result. The Spanish

Government had done everything that was worthy of its dignity and its patriotism, and it obtained what it was above all most anxious for—that *the Spanish soldier should be known in Mexico for what he really was, and not as he appeared through the medium of the sad events which took place when the American Republic were striving for their independence.* At home, meanwhile, parties were doing all they could to discredit the Cabinet of Madrid, but they had not succeeded. The confidence of populations emanated from the acts of governments, and from the qualities of the individuals forming part of them, and the services rendered to the sovereign. Such confidence was seen to have prompted every act of the long negotiations which led to the convention of October 31. Those acts showed that the Government was fully decided not to sacrifice the interests and honour of the country, and not to permit the blood of a single Spanish soldier to be shed, except for the glory and honour of the Spanish people.

M. Rivero expressed himself very severely against the Spanish Ministry, and still more so against General Prim.

The withdrawal of the Spanish troops, he said, is a disgrace to the Spanish nation. Why did they leave Mexico, and why do they not return there? *Such conduct humiliates Spain in the Island of Cuba, and dishonours her.* It constitutes the most complete abandonment of Spanish interests in America.

M. Rios Rosas pointed out the contradictions which existed between the diplomatic documents and the language made use of by the Ministry.

M. Coellio went still farther, and said: I shall in the first place declare that I disapprove the conduct of General Prim, because I had great confidence in him, and his nomination had led me to hope that he would have returned to his country covered with laurels.

In presence of those formal accusations, *the attitude of M. Calderon Collantes is more and more embarrassed.* In the sitting of the 13th, he confined himself to saying to M. Rivero he would reply on a future day.

The history of the proceedings of our Minister, Sir C. Wyke, prior to his removal, is simply this,—that behind the back of our Allies, the French, with whom the intervention had been signed, and in direct opposition to their Minister, he concocted a separate convention with Mexico, which the Congress immediately refused to ratify, and compelled the Minister Zamacona, who signed it, to resign. And no wonder; for every British resident cried aloud against such a convention, well knowing the evil it would lead to. (I do not reckon as British those individuals who are always ready to lick the dust off the shoe that spurns them.)

The complaints against this convention were these:—

1. It proposed a sudden and violent reduction of fifty per cent. on the tariff, frightening the little sense they had out of the few Mexicans who understand trade; and particularly remembering that the last time we tried our hand at forcible interference in the Dunlop convention, we insisted on thirty per cent. being restored, which they had deducted on discount—an inconsistency which told, of course, with great reason against us in the debate.

2. The *bonâ fide* claims of British subjects, for thirty years deprived of all reparation for insult, outrage, and murder, were completely ignored.

3. The only reparation for the national honour, so long set at nought by the duplicity, the breaking of every solemn engagement, and the outrage on the British Minister and his seal, in the robbery at the Legation, was money! money! giving rise to a foul accusation, apparently too well founded, that Englishmen in Mexico will sell everything, even to their national honour.

4. Of the five millions claimed, but a small portion consisted of *bonâ fide* British claims, the greater part being foisted, under not very creditable circumstances, into British protection, without any shadow of right.

5. Under the circumstances, and at the time, it was utterly useless to make any treaty at all.

6. In this, as in every other case, Sir C. Wyke had not condescended to take the slightest notice of the existence of any Englishmen, but himself in Mexico, or to take the counsel or ask the opinion of those whose interests were so vitally at stake; but in this, as in everything, treated them with *hauteur*.

And as Mr. Fitzgerald pointed out, as well as the British residents, the treaty never mentioned the reparation due for thirty years of robbery and murder.

As to the chances of French occupation of Mexico, of course the capital will be at their mercy; but they will be little advanced by that. The history of the Spanish race has shown, over and over again, that they are little likely to succumb, as a nation, by the hostile occupation of their cities. The whole of the mother-country was overrun by Napoleon in the Peninsular War, but the whole population was in arms in every mountain fastness and forest; and it will be so in Mexico. The nature of the country, its utter impracticability for military manœuvres, the vast tracts of mountain, forest, and desert, the total absence of roads, the entire destitution of forage, and the climate, above all, will inevitably wear out even the strength of French armies. Add to this the gross injustice of their cause, the hatred of the nation, and their distance from any base of operations, make the chimera of a permanent French settlement ridiculous. Add to all this the jealousy of America at European interference on their soil, and there is enough to appal any sober statesman who looks at the causes and consequences of this

irruption into a country which has nothing in common with the destinies of the French empire. It is a costly blunder; and it is perfectly evident the Mexicans so regard it, for on May 9 last Doblado put forward an appeal to the nation, which in substance amounts to the same.

The manifesto begins by referring to the advance of the French army into the interior without any declaration of war. This step is attributed to the false information given to the French Government by interested persons, who induced the French to make an attempt on the sovereignty of Mexico, in spite of the engagements entered into with their two allies in the convention of London. France is accused of having acknowledged the Mexican Government by the convention of Soledad according to the constitution of 1857, which the Mexicans had consolidated, after a struggle of three years, and they did not stand in need of any foreign intervention. The French offered no excuse for breaking the convention, and set at nought their solemn engagements. England and Spain preferred leaving to France the entire responsibility of breaking up the alliance, and retracting from their engagements. Under the pretext of protecting the Mexican people, the French have exhibited an evident desire to set

up a government of their own, and that at a moment when the Mexican people had established a government according to the constitution, in Article 41 of which it is provided that 'the will of the people is, that they be formed into a republic, which shall be representative, democratic, and federal in its character, composed of free and sovereign States, as far as concerns its internal administration, yet of States united by a confederation established upon the principles of this fundamental law.'

Neither more nor less (continues the manifesto) is now meant than the destruction of the will of the Mexican people, and the substitution of a system that would lead to the destruction of the Republic, and give to one nation a supremacy over others in their foreign relations.

Few who care to read the events of the French history of the last ten years, can fail to perceive how completely the Emperor has won his marvellous success by the most accurate and careful knowledge of all he is in contact with, whether men or nations. He has used England for his own purposes with the most delicate perception. He has never offended our prejudices or wounded our extravagant self-love, for he knows our strength and takes advantage of our weakness. The interest which England ought

to take in the welfare of Mexico, is one of those points which our statesmen ought to make heard thoroughly in his councils. Not only as a country rich and useful for the commerce of the world beyond calculation, but, politically and socially considered, affording one of the most interesting spectacles of a people emerging from barbaric government and priestly chicanery to a free and constitutional liberty, Mexico demands our sympathy and support. A firm representation of the duties and ties which bind us in relation to Mexico would gain for us tenfold more than the alliance we have escaped, where success would have been more humiliating than failure. When the French armies have proved their supremacy we can safely interpose. We have but little to ask, and the settlement would not be difficult. We ought first thoroughly to sift the claims urged by British and soi-disant British subjects. Most of them will be found utterly untenable.

It is idle to say the Mexican Government have ratified them. It is a fraud to plead that English ministers and the Foreign Office has endorsed them. More shame to us; for when we say to Mexico, pay us what you owe us, or we will attack you, it deeply concerns our national honour to see clearly that the debt we claim should be honestly due. There is

another question, too. How has it fared with the real and bonâ fide claims for loss and reparation to outraged British subjects amid all this chicanery? Of course, they have all gone to the wall.

These last ought to be our first consideration.

Our course seems quite clear. First, all claims of bonâ fide reparation to individuals should be paid at once and in full. They amount to \$21,000,000, on file; they may very probably be reduced to 12 or 15, and will form no difficulty. Next, the robberies of governments, viz., Laguna Seca, Legation, the Tampico Conducta, &c. &c. And, lastly, a fair and just arrangement of the other matters. The great thing we have to do is to overthrow the common idea prevalent among the Mexicans, that murder, robbery, and insult to English individuals, and even to the English nation, in the person of the Minister and his seal, may all be fully atoned and compensated by money. This the public prints assert, and with great apparent reason; and this damning accusation it should be our first care to rebut.

Such an accusation there is too much reason to fear is well-founded upon the past and present experience of diplomatic arrangements in Mexico. It is one which our Home Government would do well to clear us of by actions as well as words.

Fleets are no use: what do the Governors of S. Luis Potosi or Zacatecas care for the presence of men-of-war at Vera Cruz? Perfect redress must be obtained by a cure of the evil, not by any affectation of punishment. Obtain as full and perfect a satisfaction as you can desire for the past, and in a few months you will have a fresh crop of grievances of the same character, and perhaps worse, against which you have at present no possible guarantee. We want not only redress for all evils, but security and guarantees for the future. To do this nothing more is required than sufficient support to an able national government to make its decrees respected and its authority undisputed.

There is no way left by which England can safely and profitably build up trade and commerce with Mexico, except through the Liberal party. A liberal treaty once concluded, and a good understanding established between the two nations, we shall find in Mexico a magnificent field for our enterprise, industry, and capital. The principles of liberty will be there developed under our fostering care, and that down-trodden people will eventually rise up our faithful friend and ally. On the other hand, the success of the Church or Monarchical party will seriously compromise the well-being of the United

States ; for in case the faction now represented by France obtains control of the Republic, a policy will be inaugurated which must bring us into hostile collision, not only with Mexico, but with one or more of the great powers.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

FROM the year 1535 until the year 1821, when Mexico obtained her independence, the country was governed by sixty-one viceroys, whose terms of service extended over a period of 286 years, giving to each viceroy rather more than four years. Among these Spanish rulers there would occasionally be found one of benevolent disposition and liberal ideas. But it must be conceded that, in the main, the Spanish rule in New Spain was one of iron despotism, in which priest and soldier bore an equal part, until several millions of human beings, the constitutional elements of whose character were gentleness and docility, rose against their oppressors with the determination of driving them from the land.

An obscure native *cure*, of the Indian village of Dolores, in the province of Guanajuato, named Miguel Hidalgo, headed the first Mexican revolution, which broke out in 1810. Under the cry of *Death to the Gachupins*, and the

belief that their religion was endangered by the French (Joseph Bonaparte being then on the Castilian throne), the natives rallied under Hidalgo, and for a season waged a sanguinary and successful conflict against Spaniard and Creole. This revolutionary priest was finally captured and shot, July 27, 1811. A guerilla warfare followed, which in 1812 came to a head under Morelos, another native *curé*, who, aided by Matamoras, one of the same class, followed in the footsteps of Hidalgo, and continued the contest against the loyalists until November 1815, when this really great chief was betrayed into the hands of the Spanish General Concha, at Tescmaluco, province of Puebla. Morelos was sent to the capital, tried, and condemned to be shot. He was taken to the hospital of San Cristobal for execution, December 22, 1815. After dining, he bound the handkerchief around his head, kneeled, and ejaculating, 'Lord, if I have done well Thou knowest it,' gave the fatal signal to his executioners, and thus calmly and heroically the soldier-priest met his fate.

Matamoras had previously been taken prisoner and shot by Iturbide, who here made his first appearance on the stage, a zealous loyalist.

The death of Morelos did not subdue the spirit of revolution. Rebel chiefs appeared at various points. Among them was that indomitable and daring patriot Guadalupe Victoria, of whom mention was first made as a soldier under Morelos. Xavier Mina appeared as a revolutionary leader in April 1817, and at the head of a brave band, principally North Americans, met with so much success, as to bring against him the combined efforts of the loyalist forces.

Mina was betrayed by a friar, taken prisoner, and shot, by order of Viceroy Apodaca, in November 1817.

From 1810 to 1821 a sanguinary and cruel war was waged throughout Mexico. It commenced a war of castes, the native against the Spaniard. Up to this period, Spain had rigidly adhered to the policy of placing *all* civil power in the hands of native Spaniards. No one born in Mexico was allowed to participate in the administration of the government of the country in the slightest degree. The Gachupins were the kings and nobles of the land. The Creoles even, descendants of the Spaniards, members of their own families, were, under the universal system of degradation, made to feel an inferiority of birth and the iron heel of the oppressor. But at the commencement of the revolution under Hidalgo, the Creoles were found fighting side by side with the Spaniards. The spirit of liberty, however, became infectious, and by degrees this intermediate class went over to the insurgents, and joined them in their efforts to conquer the common enemy. This, with the operation of the constitution given to Mexico by the consent of the Cortes of Spain, in 1812, which pretended to relieve the people of their grievances, and did in reality curtail the power of the viceroy, so alarmed Apodaca, the incumbent of that office in 1821, that he resolved to restore the absolute power of Spain, and to this end proposed to Iturbide, a Creole of elegant person and polished manners, to head the loyalist army then on the west coast, and proclaim the restoration of the *absolute* authority of the King of Spain over Mexico.

Iturbide assumed the leadership of the army, but, under

the influence of the clergy, who were beginning to fear that the Cortes of Spain would encroach upon their enormous property and revenues, the Creole leader, instead of proclaiming anew the power of Spain, brought forth, in February 1821, that famous document known as the *Plan of Iguala*, the first article of which declared as follows: *The Mexican nation is independent of the Spanish nation, and of every other, even on its own continent.* By this act, Mexico virtually became independent of Spain.

Iturbide assumed imperial power in 1822, under the title of Augustin I. His reign was brief. The following November, General Garza headed a revolt in the north, and Santa Anna, who was then Governor of Vera Cruz, first made himself prominent, by pronouncing against Iturbide. The Emperor Iturbide abdicated and fled from the country, and on attempting to return, July 1824, he was captured and shot.

The Congress of the country had annulled the acts of the Emperor, April 8, 1823, and in October 1824 the republican constitution was published.

In consequence of this constitution, General Victoria became the first President of Mexico, on the 10th of the same month and year, and remained in power until April 1, 1829. During this period three pronunciamientos took place. The first in 1824, when a general of the name of Lobato attempted a revolution against the Spaniards employed by the Government. Second, in 1827, when General Montano headed a revolution against the Freemason Societies and Mr. Poinsett, United States Minister in Mexico at that time. Both these, however, were put down

by the Government. Third, in 1828, a more important pronunciamiento took place in Jalapa, and continued at Perote and Oajaca. At the same time, another broke out in the city of Mexico. This proved disastrous; and is known by the appellation of *Acordada*. On April 1, 1829, General Guerrero became President, but retired from government on December 18 of the same year, in order to take command of the army, and march against General Bustamante, who had taken up arms against the Liberal party, to which Guerrero belonged. From December 18 to the 31st of the same month, the government was provisionally in the hands of Señores Bocanegra, Velez, Quintanas, and Alman, at which date General Bustamante, as Vice-President, took possession of the government, which he held till August 14, 1832, when he was obliged to take command of the army, as General Vasquez, and other officers at Vera Cruz, had pronounced against him. From August to December 1832, the government was in the hands of a President *interino*, General Muzquiz, and passed on December 24, 1832, into the hands of the constitutional President, General Gómez Pedraza, who retired, however, on April 1, 1833, when the Vice-President, D. V. Gómez Farías, took his place.

During that time the revolution had gained ground, and General Santa Anna was named constitutional President on June 17, 1833. He took the reins of power, but being obliged to head the army in order to attack Texas, January 1835, he left the government during his absence in the hands of two Vice-Presidents, first to Señor Farías, and then to General Barragan. General Barragan having died in

March 1836, Señor Corro became President *ad interim*; governing until April 1837, when General Bustamante again took possession of the government, being named President, in conformity with the new constitution of the Republic, by which the central system was adopted, which had been sanctioned and published on January 1, 1837. General Bustamante remained in power until September 1841, with the exception of a few months in 1839, in which year General Santa Anna was intrusted with the government for three months, and General Bravo for eight days. In September 1841, General Bustamante retired to Europe, leaving Señor D. Javier Echeverria at the head of the government until October 10, 1841, when General Santa Anna again became President, with almost unlimited power, by an arrangement known under the name of *Bases agreed to in Tacubaya*. This discretionary power of dictatorship ceased by the publication of a new constitution of the country on June 12, 1843. General Santa Anna was then named constitutional President, and remained in power until December 6, 1844. During these four years he was three times absent from the capital, and the government was, during this period, intrusted by him to General Bravo and General Canalizo. From December 1844 to the end of December 1845, General Herrera was President; from December 1845 to July 1846, General Paredes; and from July to August 1846, General Bravo occupied the place of General Paredes, who, in his turn, had to give way in August to General Salas, who remained in power till December 1846, after having reestablished the Federal system on the constitution of 1824, by his decree of August

22, 1846. Señor Gómez Farías then occupied the position of Vice-President from December 1846 till March 1847. During this time General Santa Anna was named President. He assumed power on March 21, 1847, but left the government to General Anaya, in order to take command of the army in the field against the troops of the United States. On his return to the capital in May 1847, he again took the government into his hands, and remained in power until September 1847, when the capital was taken by the Americans.

From this time the government retired to Queretaro, and Señor Peña y Peña at one time, and General Anaya at another, were at the head of it till after the peace, when, General Herrera again took possession of the government on June 3, 1848. He retired in January 1851, when General Arista became President, but in consequence of the plan of Guadalajara, retired in January 1853. Señor Ceballos and General Lombardini entered as Presidents for a short time; until General Santa Anna, already elected President, had arrived from Turbaco in Carthagená. His arrival took place in Vera Cruz, April 1853, and shortly afterwards he entered the capital and left again, on August 11, 1855, for Vera Cruz, to embark. General Rómulo Díaz de la Vega took charge of the capital as chief of the district. On August 15, four days after the departure of Santa Anna, Don Martín Carrera, one of the most patriotic and distinguished generals, was elected President *ad interim* of the Republic, by a junta at the capital, but his election not being sustained by the civil or military voice of the States, he abdicated on September 12, after holding position one

month. General La Vega continued to govern, according to the plan of Ayutla, from September 12 until October 4, when General Alvarez established his government at Cuernavaca, and was recognised by the representatives of foreign powers. He came to the city of Mexico, and remained till December 11, 1855, when he voluntarily retired, leaving the government in the hands of General Ignacio Comonfort. Comonfort remained in office from December 11, 1855, to January 21, 1858, two years, one month, and ten days, when he fled the country. Félix Zuloaga, under a plan of Tacubaya, proclaimed by a body of soldiers, usurped the Presidential chair at the capital, and Don Benito Juarez, the constitutional President by virtue of his office as chief justice of the supreme court, was obliged to fly for his life. After taking the circuit of the country, President Juarez finally arrived at Vera Cruz viâ New Orleans, in the summer of 1858, and, gathering around him a Cabinet, demanded the allegiance of the various States. This was immediately granted by all, except two or three of the central States and the capital, which, being in the immediate possession of the army of the Church, were forced to submit to the rule of a faction headed at the present moment by Miguel Miramon, who deposed Zuloaga in November 1858, and subsequently, General Robles Pezuela, who held power but two days.

The independence of Mexico dates from February 1821, since which period to the present time, a space of thirty-eight years, the country has had thirty-six different forms of government, and seventy-two individuals have figured as chief executives of the nation under imperial and every variety of republican titles.

GOVERNMENTS.

Regency, Sept. 28, 1821, to April 11, 1822.

AUGUSTIN ITURBIDE

JUAN O'DONOJU

ANTONIO PEREZ

M. DE LA BARCENA

JUAN YAÑEZ.

Regency, April 11, 1822, to May 18, 1822. (Revolution.)

ITURBIDE

YAÑEZ

M. VALENTIN

CONDE DE HERAS

N. BRAVO.

Emperor, May 19, 1822, to May 19, 1823.

ITURBIDE.

Provisional Government, April 1, 1823, to Oct. 10, 1824.

N. BRAVO

G. VICTORIA

P. C. NEGRETE

J. M. MICHELENA

M. DOMINGUEZ

V. GUERRERO.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

President, Oct. 10, 1824, to April 1, 1829.

GUADALUPE VICTORIA.

*President, April 1, 1829, to Dec. 18, 1829. Made
Commander-in-Chief.*

VINCENTE GUERRERO.

President five days ad interim.

JOSE MARIA BOCANEGRA.

Provisional Government, eight days ad interim.

PEDRO VELEZ

LUIS QUINTANA

LUCAS ALAMAN.

Vice-President, Dec. 31, 1829, to Aug. 14, 1832.

Made Commander-in-Chief.

A. BUSTAMENTE.

President ad interim.

MELCHOR MUSQUIZ.

President three months.

M. G. PEDRAZA.

Vice-President two months.

V. G. FARIAS.

President fourteen months.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President twelve months.

M. BARRAZAN.

President thirteen months.

JOSE JUSTO CORRO.

CENTRAL REPUBLIC.

*President, April 19, 1837, to March 18, 1839; and
July 17, 1839, to Sept. 22, 1841.*

A. BUSTAMENTE.

President, March 18, 1839, to July 10, 1839.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President seven days.

N. BRAVO.

President eighteen days.

J. ECHEVERRIA.

Dictator, Oct. 10, 1841, to Oct. 26, 1842.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President-substitute, Oct. 26, 1842, to March 5, 1843.

N. BRAVO.

President, March 5, 1843, to Oct. 4, 1853.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President eight months. (Revolution.)

V. CANALIZO.

President, June 4, 1844, to Sept. 20, 1844.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President, Sept. 20, 1844, to Dec. 6, 1844.

V. CANALIZO.

President, Dec. 6, 1844, to Dec. 30, 1845.

JOSE JOAQUIN DE HERRERA.

President, Jan. 6, 1846, to July 29, 1846.

MARIANO PAREDES Y ARRILLAGA.

President, July 29, 1846, to Aug. 4, 1846.

N. BRAVO.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

General-in-Chief, Aug. 5, 1846, to Dec. 24, 1846.

MARIANO LALAS.

Vice-President, Dec. 24, 1846, to March 21, 1847.

V. G. FARIAS.

President, March 21, 1847, to April 2, 1847.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President, April 2, 1847, to May 20, 1847.

PEDRO MARIA ANAZA.

President, May 20, 1847, to Sept. 16, 1847.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President, Sept. 20, 1847, to Nov. 12, 1847.

MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

President two months.

P. M. ANAZA.

President, Jan. 8, 1848, to June 3, 1848.

M. DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

President, June 3, 1848, to Jan. 15, 1851.

J. DE HERRERA.

President, Jan. 15, 1851, to Jan. 5, 1853.

MARIANA ARISTA.

President, Jan. 5, 1853, to Feb. 7, 1853.

JUAN B. CEBALLOS.

Dictator, Feb. 7, 1853, to April 20, 1853.

MANUEL M. LOMBARDINI.

President, April 20, 1853, to Aug. 11, 1855. (Exiled.)

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

President, Aug. 15, 1855, to Sept. 12, 1855.

MARTIN CARRERA.

President, Oct. 4, 1855, to Dec. 11, 1855.

JUAN ALVAREZ.

President, Dec. 11, 1855, to Jan. 14, 1858.

IGNACIO COMONFORT.

President-substitute, Jan. 14, 1858, to Jan. 20, 1858.
(*Revolution.*)

BENITO JUAREZ.

General, Jan. 23, 1858, to Dec. 23, 1858.

FELIX ZULOAGA.

President, Dec. 23, 1858, to Jan. 24, 1859.

MANUEL ROBLES Y PEZUELA.

President, Jan. 24, 1859, to Jan. 31, 1859.

F. ZULOAGA.

President, Jan. 31, 1859, to Dec. 24, 1860. (Exiled.)

MIGUEL MIRAMON.

Restored, Dec. 24, 1860.

BENITO JUAREZ.

APPENDIX II.

MANIFESTO.

The Constitutional President of the Republic to the Nation.

MEXICANS,—The announcement of an approaching war preparing in Europe against us has been realised, unfortunately. Spanish forces have invaded our soil; our national dignity has been outraged, and perhaps our independence put in peril. In such extreme circumstances, the Government believes that it complies with one of its first duties in placing before you the cardinal idea which will be the basis of its policy in the present state of affairs. It treats of the interests of all; and if, therefore, all have the obligation, as good sons of Mexico, of contributing with their ability, their fortune and blood, to the salvation of the Republic, all have an equal right to be informed of the occurrences which take place, and the conduct of Government. On the 14th Dec., the Governor of the State of Vera Cruz received a demand from the commander of the Spanish naval forces to disoccupy the city and fort Ullpa, which he announced he should hold as a pledge, until the Government of the Queen of Spain should be assured that for the future the Spanish nation should be treated with the consideration due to it

and the compacts celebrated from time to time between the Governments be religiously observed. The Spanish chief announces at the same time that the occupation of city and fort will serve as guarantee of rights and reclamations which France and England have to make good against the Mexican Government. The bases of this aggression are inexact — viz., the injuries inflicted on the Government of Her Catholic Majesty of Spain by this Government, and the blind obstinacy with which this Government has refused to listen to her just reclamations. The invariable conduct of this Government does not permit in the impartial eyes of justice that credit be given to such imputations. The Spanish Government, from the treaty of peace in 1836, has always been considered as a friendly power, connected with us by special ties; and against the truth of this cannot to-day be employed, as a well-founded objection, the expulsion of the Ambassador Pacheco; since the circumstances of his case are well known, as well as the disposition of the Government, who still had to give the most rational and satisfactory explanation of the affair, which, reduced to words, was simply the necessity of expelling from the territory a foreign functionary, who decidedly favoured the misguided people of a faction against the legitimate authorities of the Republic. The Government made use of a right held and exercised by all nations, which Spain has used often; but manifesting at the same time the determination to do nothing affecting the good relations which existed, and which it is desired to preserve, with the Spanish nation.

Nor are the violences committed against Spanish subjects

acts which can be presented in contradiction of the disposition to maintain the best harmony with that Government; because these violences have only been the inevitable consequences of the social revolution which the nation initiated, and has consummated for the extirpation of abuses which had been the principal cause of its misfortune,—consequences which, in their turn, have been suffered by citizens and foreigners, without any distinction of their respective nationalities. And if any greater part of these misfortunes have fallen upon Spanish subjects, may not this arise from the fact that the number of those resident in the Republic is also greater than those of any other nation?

May it not also prove that Spaniards, more than all other foreigners, have taken, and are taking, part in our dissensions, in which many of them have displayed a very sanguinary and furious character?—yet notwithstanding, the several administrations which have succeeded each other have always listened to all the reclamations of the Spanish legation, and favourably acted upon those which have been found to be sustained by the principles of justice.

Long before their recognition of our independence, Congress made national the debt contracted by the Spanish Government; although a great part of it had been employed in combating our efforts, and another not less considerable had been destined to European compromises of the Spanish monarch. Later, the character of the convention was given to the arrangement of the Spanish reclamations; but it afterwards appearing that some of the Spanish subjects interested in it, abusing the good disposition of the Government, had introduced enormous credits, which evidently

had not the qualifications required by the convention, the Mexican Government has made efforts, in the desire to rectify these operations, to reduce them to just and reasonable proportions. In all other matters the Government has been, and is, disposed to satisfy all just reclamations, to the utmost extent permitted by the resources of the nation, as is well known by the power that invades us to-day. All nations, and particularly Spain, have passed through epochs of penury and distress; and nearly all have had creditors who have awaited better times for their payment. Of Mexico are required sacrifices beyond her power. If the Spanish nation covers other designs beneath the financial question, and under the pretext of unfounded injuries, its intentions will soon be known. But the Government, which should prepare the nation for every event, announces as the basis of its policy that it will not declare war, but repel force by force, to the utmost extent which its powers of action will permit. That it is disposed to satisfy all reclamations which may be made upon it, founded in justice and in equity; but that it will never accept conditions which cannot be admitted without offending the dignity of the nation, or compromising its independence. Mexicans, if such just intentions be frustrated,—if it is designed to humiliate Mexico, to dismember her territory, to interfere in her internal administrations and policy, or perhaps to extinguish her nationality,—I appeal to your patriotism, and I call upon you, that, throwing aside all hatreds and enmities which had their origin in the diversity of opinion, and sacrificing your resources and your blood, you unite with your Government, and in the defence of that cause,

the greatest and most sacred for men and for peoples,—the defence of your country. Exaggerated and sinister reports of the enemies of Mexico have presented us to the world as unenlightened and degraded. Let us defend ourselves in the war to which we are provoked, observing strictly the laws and usages which have been established for the benefit of humanity. Let our inoffensive enemies, to whom we give generous hospitality, live tranquil and secure among us, under the protection of our laws. We shall thus best refute the calumnies of our enemies, and prove that we are worthy of that liberty and independence which has been bequeathed us by our fathers.

. BENITO JUAREZ.

Proclamation of General Uruga, Commander-in-Chief.

. Vera Cruz: December 12, 1861.

JOSE LOPEZ URUGA, General of Division and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the east, considering that a foreign armed force has presented itself in the waters of the Gulf, and that from one moment to another, the Mexican soil may be invaded; that in case of this event, the supreme Government has ordered the evacuation of the city of Vera Cruz and fort Ulloa; that it is the duty of all Mexicans to join in the defence of our independence and the integrity of our territory, I have decided to decree—

1. From the moment a foreign armed force shall disembark, of whatever nation it may be, all communication

is prohibited to the subjects of it, whether it be from the city to the interior, or *vice versâ*, except with a passport from head-quarters.

2. Those who infringe the regulation shall be treated as spies and their property confiscated.
3. All communication is likewise prohibited with the points which may be occupied by the invading force. Any person who may be apprehended between the lines of operations will be treated as a spy.
4. Those also who attempt communication for the purpose of providing the enemy with provisions or other necessities, will be treated as traitors to their country; whatever they are carrying seized and confiscated, as well as all property they possess.
5. It having been ordered that cattle and all classes of movables shall be immediately removed from whatever points may be occupied by the enemy, all objects of this class that may be found within a radius of eight leagues, after twenty-four hours from the occupation of such points, shall be considered as public property, and shall be occupied by the national forces, and destined to their immediate wants, without prejudice, however, to the responsibility which the proprietor incurs for his disobedience.
6. Within twenty-four hours of the publication of this decree, the owners of houses in the city shall be taken to the interior, eight leagues from the coast; or those who prefer it, may present themselves to the Chief of Hacienda, that he may purchase the same for

- the service of the nation. Those persons who after twenty-four hours shall not have complied with these orders, shall be punished by law and their houses confiscated.
7. In twenty-four hours, owners of mules shall present themselves to the commissary, with a statement of the number they possess and the places where they are to be found, under the same penalties.
 8. Any Mexican citizen who fails in his duty to join in the struggle of arms for his country, and remains among the enemies' forces, shall be deemed a traitor.

(Signed) FRANCISCO DE P. CARRILLO,
Secretary.

*General Ruñalcava's demand for the surrender of
Vera Cruz.*

SIR,—The repeated grievances inflicted upon the Government of Her Catholic Majesty by that of the Republic of Mexico, the reiterated violences committed upon Spanish subjects, and the blind obstinacy constantly persisted in by the Government of Mexico, not to grant the just demands and claims always asked for with the moderation and decorum becoming a chivalrous nation, have placed my government under the necessity of abandoning all hope of obtaining, by conciliatory measures, a satisfactory adjustment of the grave differences existing between the two countries.

Her Catholic Majesty's Government resolved, therefore, to obtain ample reparation for these many outrages, has ordered me to commence operations by occupying the city of Vera Cruz and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, to be held as hostages (*prenda pretoria*) until such time as Her Catholic Majesty's Government may feel assured that, for the future, the Spanish nation will be treated with the consideration due to her, and that the compacts which may be entered into will be religiously complied with and observed.

You will please communicate through the French Consul, at present representing the commercial interests of Spain, within the term of twenty-four hours, reckoned from the moment you receive this intimation, whether or not you are disposed to surrender to me the city of Vera Cruz and the castle; at the same time informing you, that in the event of your reply being negative, or at the expiration of the stipulated time I should have received no answer, from that moment you may consider hostilities as commenced, to which end the Spanish force will be disembarked.

It is my duty to inform you that, although I make this intimation of surrender solely in the name of Spain, according to my instructions, the occupation of the city and castle will serve equally as a guarantee for the securing of the rights and demands which France and England may have to make effective against the Mexican Government.

I have also to make known to you, that the mission of the Spanish forces in no way affects the internal political questions of the country: all opinions will be respected, no censurable act will be committed, and from the mo-

ment our troops occupy Vera Cruz the Spanish chiefs respond for the security of the lives and property of its inhabitants, to whatever nation they may belong.

Upon you and the other Mexican authorities devolves the duty of affording to all foreigners and their property guarantees until the occupation be accomplished; should Spanish subjects or other foreigners be in any way persecuted or annoyed, the forces which compose this expedition will be under the severe but unavoidable necessity of having recourse to *reprisal*.

I entertain the hope, whatever may be your resolution, that you will act with discrimination; and under the assurance that the Spanish forces, always humane, noble, and loyal, even though at war with their enemies, will not take the first step towards reprehensible violence, but avoid crimes of all kinds,—the only result of which would be to make more difficult, if not impossible, the settlement of pending international questions.

I improve this occasion to assure you of my most distinguished consideration.

On board of H.M. steamer 'Isabella Católica,' December 14th, 1861.

JUAN GUTIERREZ DE RUBALCAVA.

To the Governor of Vera Cruz.

Llave's Reply to Rubalcava.

Mexican Republic and Government of the Free and
Sovereign State of Vera Cruz.

SIR,—I am in possession of your communication, which was delivered to me by your commissioners at 1 P.M. on the 14th instant, and beg to inform you that, when I made myself acquainted with its contents, and forwarded a copy to the commander-in-chief of the eastern forces, I sent the same by express to the chief magistrate of the nation.

As you inform me that it is your determination, after the expiration of twenty-four hours, to attack this city and the fort of Ulloa, and that in demanding their surrender, in virtue of your mission, you are merely desirous of holding them as hostages, I will retire with the government under my charge to an adjacent point, not only with a view of preserving order, but to transmit to you the reply of my government, on which I depend.

The recommendation relative to the respect due to foreigners you might have saved yourself the trouble of making, as in this Republic, those belonging to other nations are so much respected and enjoy so many advantages, that, I can assure you, the condition of a Mexican citizen is disadvantageous as compared with that of a foreigner. As a proof of what I state, I may cite the testimony of many honourable foreigners who live amongst us,—above all, the conduct observed by the Mexicans under present circumstances.

The news of the war which Spain has brought upon Mexico for a few days has circulated amongst us, and, notwithstanding this, and the indignation excited by injurious articles contained in several newspapers of the Peninsula, the Spaniards have been respected; and not only have they not in any way been injured, but not even in the slightest degree been insulted. Badly disposed persons, and perhaps even renegade Mexicans, have given sinister information to European governments; but the truth is what I have stated, and the time will perhaps come when you may see and judge for yourself.

Whatever may be the lot that awaits this city, I have to inform you that, by order of the Federal Government, the heroic town council will remain with a force of police and some neutral foreigners; the latter armed, at my request, with the sole object of preserving order up to the last moment. As the object of the above-named corporation, and the forces belonging thereto, is merely as indicated above, I trust in your gentlemanly character and the good discipline of your subordinates to respect the said body and the above-mentioned forces.

In conclusion, I have to inform you, that it is much to be regretted that nations, who, on account of their origin and identity, as well in language as in customs, ought to remain united and on intimate terms of friendship, should to-day, for groundless reasons, in my opinion, find themselves on the point of opposing one another, and commencing a struggle, the end of which cannot well be seen.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer you my most distinguished consideration.

Liberty and Reform! Vera Cruz, December 15th, 1861.

IGNACIO DE LA LLAVE.

To the Commander of H.C.M. Forces
in the Gulf of Mexico.

Circular of Minister of State.

The Governor's Department of Foreign Relations.

By order of the citizen President, I have the satisfaction of remitting to you copies of the Communications exchanged between the Commander of the Spanish forces at Vera Cruz and the citizen Governor of that State, as well as the decree and manifesto to which the supreme magistrate has thought proper to-day to issue, in order that the States should be aroused to the defence of our national independence.

After having exhausted all means of pacific settlement between Spain and Mexico, the government of the Republic, strong in the consciousness of right, and feeling all the impulse of the popular opinion pronounced for war, accepts that which has been attempted by the Spanish forces in a mode so unheard of, because its right is unquestionable to repel force by force. It protests before the civilised world, that the responsibility of all succeeding acts will fall solely on the Government of the Queen of Spain, who

so inconsistently has espoused the unjust charges which the avowed enemies of the liberties of Mexico have sought to speculate upon. Notwithstanding our intestine divisions, the sentiment of independence and the hatred of the ancient rulers of our country is preserved alive, although tempered by the effect of education and the civilisation of the age. The citizen President, in raising aloft the flag of Mexican nationality, does no more than follow the current of public opinion; and he has the pleasure of seeing grouped around him, on the day of national conflict, the greater part of those Mexicans who from difference of political opinions remained disunited, but who have now abandoned the revolutionary flags at the call of our common country.

Although the Government has the full right to expel from the soil of the Republic all Spaniards resident within it, it has refrained from so doing for the present, because it believes that, acknowledging the generosity with which they are treated, they will strictly observe that neutrality which their position requires. The President has thus given another proof of the consideration which he has always exercised in the conduct of his foreign relations; proving, by indisputable facts, that it is not his fault that those relations should have reached the unfortunate state in which they are now found.

The President therefore hopes that, giving prompt and exact compliance to the decree, of which mention was made at the beginning of this circular, you will place in march, within the shortest possible time, the contingent of armed force therein assigned; and that you will, besides, make use of all the official means within your power as Governor

to place the State, which is under your worthy command, in the attitude of preparation, which is demanded by the circumstances; exciting, by every means in your power, the patriotism of all the inhabitants, that they join in the common defence; and, if the unfortunate case arrives that the enemies penetrate into the interior, they may rise *en masse*, and oppose with their swords and with constancy an impregnable wall to the presumption of our invaders.

Be the memory of Hidalgo, of Morelos, and Guerrero, the model of Mexicans, and the standard borne aloft in the ranks of the army in the hour of battle.

Long live Independence! Long live Liberty!

Mexico: Decembér 17th, 1861.

Manuel Gasset y Mereados, Grand Cross of the Royal and Distinguished Order of Carlos III., &c. &c., Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Forces in Mexico.

HAVING received the chief political and military command, attending to the special circumstances in which this country is found, and decided to punish with all the severity of military law, whoever, in whatever manner, proceeds against the public order, personal security, or the property of pacific inhabitants,—I order the following:—

1. The city and other points occupied by the Spanish troops are declared in a state of siege.
2. A permanent military commission shall be established to take cognisance of all classes of offences.

3. Faults and offences of ordinary character will be dealt with summarily.
4. All persons who have in their possession arms of any class whatsoever, shall deliver them to the chief of the guard of the city, within twenty-four hours from the publication of this decree.

Vera Cruz : December 17th, 1861.

VERA CRUZANS,—The Spanish troops that occupy your city bring no mission of conquest nor interested views. They are brought here solely by the duty of exacting satisfaction for the non-compliance with treaties, and for the violences committed against our fellow-countrymen, as well as guarantees that such outrages will not be repeated.

Until these objects be attained here, and where else it is led by the course of events, the Spanish army will know how, with its rigorous discipline, to preserve, at all costs, the public tranquillity; and to punish with severity the disturbers of public order, submitting them to the military commission, which will be appointed to judge all delinquents.

Vera Cruzans,—you have no cause of alarm; you know the Spanish soldier, and your attitude itself demonstrates it. Dedicate yourselves to your labours, and believe that it will be the greatest satisfaction to this army, after fulfilling the mission with which the Queen has charged it, to return to our country with the assurance of having merited your esteem.

December 17th, 1861.

*Decree, closing Port of Vera Cruz, and calling on States
for contingents for the Sovereign War.*

THE Constitutional President has been pleased to direct to me the following decree:—

Benito Juarez, Constitutional President of the Mexican Republic, to the inhabitants of the same, greeting.

The Spanish forces having occupied the port of Vera Cruz, and, by the same act, hostilities having begun between the Republic and Spain, in use of the ample faculties with which I am invested, I have thought proper to decree as follows:—

1. The port of Vera Cruz is closed from the 14th instant to foreign coasting trade.
2. All Mexicans who join the Spaniards with arms in their hands, or in whatever manner favour their cause, are declared traitors to their country, and shall be punished as such.
3. The time conceded by the law of amnesty of December 2nd to the reactionists, to take advantage of the indulgence offered by Government, is extended for fifteen days more; and is made applicable to all Mexicans, except those who, in the judgement of Government, are not open to receive it, to which end examination shall be made in each particular case.
4. The Governors of States are authorised to dispose of the revenues belonging to the general Government, within their respective governments, to the

end that, with the utmost expedition, may be put in march the contingent of armed force assigned in this decree.

States	Men
5. Federal district	3,000
Chihuahua .	2,000
Guerrero .	2,000
Oaxaca .	3,000
Guanajuato .	3,000
Jalisco .	3,000
Zacatecas .	3,000
S. Luis Potosi .	3,000
Mexico .	3,000
Michoacan .	3,000
Puebla .	3,000
Vera Cruz .	3,000
Neuva Leon } Coahuila }	2,000
Tamaulipas .	2,000
Durango	2,000
Yucatan .	2,000
Tabasco .	2,000
Aguas Calientes	1,000
Queretaro .	1,000
Colima .	1,000
Tlascala .	1,000
Baja California	1,000
Sonora .	1,000
Sinaloa .	1,000

6. In addition to the contingent, Article 5, at a point designated, as occasion serves, by the Government, the Governors will place under arms all the national guards disposable, providing such extraordinary

measures as may be necessary for the procuring resources for their maintenance.

7. The Spaniards resident will remain under the protection of the laws; and only punished, under the same when, abusing the generosity of Government, they afford aid to the invaders.

I order it to be published, printed, circulated, and duly complied with.

BENITO JUAREZ.

To Citizen Manuel Doblado, Minister of Foreign Relations.

I communicate the same to you for your compliance, and the consequent ends.

GOD AND LIBERTY.

Mexico: December 17th, 1861.

Doblado to the Governor of Vera Cruz.

Secretary of State Department of Foreign Relations.

THE citizen President, to whom I have given a copy of the communication directed to you by the Commander of the Spanish naval forces, and the one you sent to that chief in reply, has ordered me to say that you follow punctually the instructions given by him beforehand for the case which has now arrived of the open commencement of hostilities on the part of Spain; and that it be now left to the military action of General Uruga, Commander-in-Chief of the Mexi-

can army, to proceed in his sphere in conformity with the provisions already made. Far will it be from the government of the Republic to direct itself to a chief who, throwing aside all the formalities of the rights of nations, commences by demanding the delivery of the city. The cry of war that the whole nation has spontaneously uttered marks out to the Government the path it should follow; and it will not be the citizen President who will recede before a foreign invasion,—and with all the more reason, when in this case Mexico does no more than repel force by force, using its own most unquestionable right.

I inclose to you, by order, a copy of the decree and circular to-day, remitted by expresses to the Governors of States, recommending you to second, with all the energy and activity demanded by the circumstances, the plans of Government, by the faithful execution of which the President does not doubt the invasion, which threatens to destroy our liberties and our independence, will be effectually repulsed.

LIBERTY AND REFORM.

Mexico: December 17th, 1861.

APPENDIX III.

Extracts from Diplomatic Correspondence.

THE treaty called *Mon Almonte*, was signed at Paris on September 26, 1859, by Don Juan N. Almonte, in the name of the rebels who occupied the city of Mexico, but could not represent the Mexican Republic, because they had risen in revolt against the constitution of the country, and were evading the observance of its laws to such degree that the constitutional government of the Republic, which had been lawfully elected by the people, and had not ceased to exist for a single instant, was sojourning for the time at Vera Cruz; was recognised, strengthened, and upheld by three-quarters of the Mexican territory, and an immense majority of the Mexican people, and had been acknowledged as the sole government of Mexico since April 1859, by the United States. The circumstance of the non-residence of the Government in the city of Mexico, which had been before, and is now again, the capital of the country, and that the rebels were acknowledged as the government of the Republic by three or four European powers, could in no way change the nature of the rebellion, nor cause the fundamental laws of Mexico to lose their power.

The representative of the constitutional government at Paris protested repeatedly against the conclusion of the

convention, before and after it was signed. The Government of Mexico also solemnly protested against it as soon as it had notice of its conclusion, and in anticipation had formally declared that the rebels lacked the authority to pledge the nation, and that settlements which might be made with them would be null and of no avail.

Protest against Sir C. Wyke's Convention.

THE principle of allowing any outrages to be committed for nothing more or less than a certain price, is surely too dangerous a one to be tolerated by England. The sacred character of international treaties would by this means be entirely destroyed; and it is not merely the lives and property of English residents in Mexico, but of those in remote countries all over the world, that would be exposed to dangers which our Government is bound to ward off and protect us from, instead of tolerating them with comparative impunity. English miners, merchants, and colonists would, in one word, find themselves in a weaker and more difficult position than the natives of almost any other nation. Surely this cannot be the state of things which an English cabinet can take any pride in creating or countenancing, nor can it be expected that British subjects can quietly and passively wait for such a result to be produced: and it is therefore that we wish, through you, to impress upon Her Majesty's Government that no arrangement should be entered into which does not embrace full

reparation for every just British claim, whatever may have been its origin, atonement for the violation of treaties, and ample guarantees for the future security of persons and property of British subjects resident within the Republic.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Corwin : April 6, 1861.

A CONDITION of anarchy in Mexico must necessarily operate as a seduction to those who are conspiring against the integrity of the Union, to seek strength and aggrandisement for themselves by conquests in Mexico and other parts of Spanish America. Thus, even the dullest observer is at last able to see what was long ago distinctly seen by those who are endowed with any considerable perspicacity, that peace, order, and constitutional authority, in each and all of the several republics of this continent, are not exclusively an interest of any one or more of them, but a common and indispensable interest of them all.

This sentiment will serve as a key to open to you, in every case, the purposes, wishes, and expectations of the President in regard to your mission, which, I hardly need say, he considers at this juncture perhaps the most interesting and important one within the whole circle of our international relations.

Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward : June 22, 1861.

THE great want of this Republic is that *public opinion* which is so omnipotent with us, and this again arises from the want of an *enlightened people*. Hence, in the last forty years, Mexico has passed through thirty-six different forms of government ; has had seventy-two, or rather, up to this time, has had seventy-three presidents. Still, I do not despair of the final triumph of free government in Mexico. Progress has been made. The signs of regeneration, though few, are still visible. Had the present Liberal party enough money at command to pay an army of ten thousand men, I am satisfied it could suppress the present opposition, restore order, and preserve internal peace. These once achieved, the leaders of this party would adhere to the written constitution and enforce obedience to law ; and industry, secure in its rewards, would soon take the place of idleness and crime. Education of the right kind begins to be felt as a necessity, which in time would, under such auspices, expel from the minds of the people religious superstition, and make the supremacy of either religious or political despotism impossible. I am persuaded that the pecuniary resources to effect these objects at this time must come from abroad. This country is exhausted, as might be expected, by forty years of almost uninterrupted civil war. She looks now, and has looked for some time in vain, for help from other nations.

Sir C. Wyke to Earl Russell : Oct. 28, 1861.

As the interest due on the French convention is a mere trifle in comparison to ours, I have strongly urged this Government to satisfy the just reclamations of the French Legation with respect to its suspension, and they have assured me that they will use their best efforts to come to some satisfactory arrangement of this question with M. de Saligny.

Mr. Schurz to Mr. Seward.

Legation of the United States :

Madrid, November 7, 1861.

SIR, — In my despatch No. 29, dated October 15, I gave you some information concerning the movements of General Miramon. The statement that he would sail for Mexico from Cadiz has proved incorrect. He did, indeed, go to Cadiz with that intention, but for some reason, which I have not been able to ascertain, he returned to Madrid. Here he was received by General O'Donnell, and several other public men, with great distinction. He appeared publicly in O'Donnell's staff at the late field manœuvres of the garrison of Madrid. I am informed he will soon go to Paris, and then sail for Mexico. That there is an understanding between him and the leading men of the Spanish Government as to the object of the expedition against Mexico, can hardly be doubted.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

C. SCHURZ.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Corwin: Dec. 5, 1861.

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your first despatch on this subject, I made an arrangement with the Government of Mexico for a loan of \$5,000,000, payable in monthly instalments of one half million per month, and secured by the pledge of all the public lands, mineral rights, and church property. In addition to this I agreed, on behalf of the United States, to make a further loan of \$4,000,000 (making in all \$9,000,000), to be paid in sums of one half million every six months, and to be secured in like manner as the \$5,000,000. Since the rejection of the English treaty I have not felt at liberty to complete this arrangement, and shall await further instructions. Should the three European powers referred to take possession of the Mexican ports, and then offer to relinquish all claims upon this country in consideration of the payment of the interest upon their debts, and the securing of the payment of the principal, I shall feel at liberty to renew my propositions, unless otherwise instructed.

Proclamation of the Allies to the Mexicans.

Vera Cruz: January 10, 1862.

MEXICANS,—The representatives of England, France, and Spain fulfil a sacred duty in giving you to understand their intentions from the moment that they trod the ground of your Republic. The faith of the treaties broken by the various governments which have succeeded each other

among you, and the individual security of our citizens, continually menaced, have made necessary and indispensable this expedition.

They deceive you who would make you believe that behind our pretensions, as just as they are legitimate, come enveloped plans of conquest and restorations, and of interfering in your politics and government.

Three nations who accepted in good faith and acknowledged your independence, have the right to expect you to believe them animated by no cowardly intentions, but rather by others more noble, elevated, and generous.

The three nations that we come representing, and whose first interest appears to be satisfaction of grievances inflicted upon them, have a higher interest, and one of more general and beneficial consequences; they come to extend the hand of friendship to a people to whom Providence has been prodigal of all its gifts, and which they behold with grief wasting its forces and extinguishing its vitality through the violent power of civil wars and of perpetual convulsions.

This is the truth, and those charged with the expression of it do it, not with the voice of war and threats, but that you yourselves shall work out your own good fortune, in which we are all concerned.

To you — exclusively to you, without intervention of foreigners — belongs the task of constituting yourselves in a permanent and stable manner. Your labour will be the labour of regeneration, which all will respect, for all will have contributed to it, some with their opinions, others with enlightenment, and all and everyone with their conscience. The evil is great, the remedy urgent. Now or

never can you make your prosperity. Mexicans ! listen to the voice of the allied powers, anchor of salvation in the destroying tempest through which you are rushing. Deliver yourselves up to their good faith and righteous intentions. Fear nothing from restless and turbulent spirits, which, should they show themselves, would be cowed by your firm and decided attitude. Meanwhile we shall preside over impassively the glorious spectacle of your regeneration, guaranteed through order and liberty.

So will it be understood, we are sure, by the supreme Government, to which we address ourselves ; so will it be understood by the enlightened of the country, to whom we speak ; and, as good patriots, you will all agree to the laying down of your arms, and that reason alone shall be put forward, which is the power that ought to triumph in this the nineteenth century.

CHARLES LENNOX WYKE

DUBOIS DE SALIGNY

HUGH DUNLOP

EL CONDE DE REUSS.

E. JURIEU DE LA GRAVIÈRE

Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward : February 18, 1862.

M. DOBLADO, the Minister of Foreign Relations, left here on Friday morning (the 14th instant) to meet the foreign commissioners at Soledad, a small village about thirty miles from Vera Cruz. The object of this meeting is to agree, if possible, on certain points preliminary to treaties settling the claims of each power. In a conference with M. Doblado, the night before his departure, he informed me that the points he should insist on were —

First. The recognition by each and all of the three powers of the present Government of Mexico.

Second. A pledge not in any event to attempt a dismemberment of the present territory of Mexico.

Third. A pledge not to interfere in the domestic Government of Mexico, or make any effort to change the existing fundamental laws of the Republic.

These propositions seem to me to embody precisely the engagements entered into by these powers with each other in the treaty which has been published by themselves; and if there be no secret understanding behind the treaty, I doubt not M. Doblado will succeed in securing the proposed preliminary arrangement.

Señor la Fuente to M. Thouvenel.

Paris: March 7, 1862.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—It is not till after a long delay, and in consequence of the obstacles which the direct correspondence of this legation with the Mexican Government has met with, that I have received the instructions sought by me of the President on the subject of my rule of conduct towards the Government of the Emperor. His excellency has not only approved of the act whereby I suspended diplomatic relations with the French Government—relations which itself had rendered impracticable—but has even acknowledged the justice of my observations on the dishonour which would have accrued to the Republic in maintaining in this country a legation compelled to listen

in silence to insults the most atrocious, and declarations the most humiliating, to the Government and people of Mexico ; a legation which could effect nothing towards restoring the good understanding which had been entirely destroyed, when peace became impossible by the resolution formed to overthrow republican institutions in Mexico, and substitute in their stead a monarchy for the benefit of a foreign prince. Such a design was fully apparent before it had been confirmed by the official documents recently published in Paris and London. On becoming convinced of the truth of this rumour I should have at once have had the honour of demanding my passports of your excellency, had I not been restrained from doing so by the laudable hope that my Government still cherished of being able to effect a convention with M. de Saligny, and later by the proclamation issued by his excellency the President, in consequence of the iniquitous invasion of the territory of the Republic made by the Spaniards, in violation of all the rules of the law of nations. By this public act his excellency offered to accede to all reasonable propositions made by the aggressors, while he bound himself to resist by all possible means such as were unjust or humiliating to the Republic. This policy proved to me that, even to the last, my Government left the way open to negotiations. It was not for me to close it by any act of mine.

But the rule of my official conduct is now fixed, and, in conformity with the express orders of my Government, I hereby declare to your excellency that I break up the Mexican Legation in France, and the protection of the natives of Mexico is confided to the good offices of his

excellency M. Galvez, Minister of Peru at the court of the Emperor of the French. I shall, therefore, be obliged to you, M. le Ministre, to furnish me with passports to quit France for myself, my second secretary, M. Marcelino Orozco, and the members of my family.

From respect to justice and the dignity of my Government, I have to make a few remarks concerning this determination, which has been so long justified that it may appear rather tardy than precipitated.

France has deemed it right to employ force against Mexico. From this time diplomacy has nothing to do with this question.

Nevertheless, if it be demanded what was the cause of the commencement of hostilities, it may be replied that the motives openly enunciated are neither the just nor the true ones, and that beyond them must be sought the prime mover of this rupture.

From the beginning M. de Saligny assigned as a motive for breaking off relations with the Mexican Government the law which decided to suspend for two years the payment of the foreign debt. But the Mexican Government did not deny its obligations; it only postponed the fulfilment of them under the pressure of an imperious necessity, acknowledged by all, even by M. de Saligny, as is proved by his despatches addressed to your excellency. It did not have resource to the suspension of payments till all the sources, ordinary and extraordinary, of the public wealth were utterly exhausted—a fact which is also clear from the above despatches. It did not come, in short, to this hard extremity till after it had offered to its foreign creditors an

arrangement which these last deemed satisfactory, and which was not carried into effect, for the sole reason that obstacles were interposed by M. de Saligny in the name of the French creditors — a fact which shows that he was resolved at all hazards to keep in his own hands the power of breaking with the Mexican Government.

The abrogation of this law was the sole condition imposed by M. de Saligny for resuming diplomatic relations with the government of the Republic. It was, then, necessary to proceed to such extremes, and to exercise such rigour in treating with a nation ruined by civil war. What mighty interest would France have in the payment by instalments of less than \$200,000, the amount of her acknowledged debt? Is it thus that she has acted towards other nations who are very far from finding themselves in a situation so deplorable as that of Mexico? And would it not have been preferable, more in conformity with the principles of justice, and equity, to allow a little breathing to a friendly power engaged in the work of its social regeneration, and in the extermination of brigandage, a work of profound interest alike to natives and foreigners? For what purpose could it be judged right to rekindle the flame of the civil war, disastrous to the commerce and interests of French subjects in Mexico, with the view of overthrowing the Government, and ruining its praiseworthy undertakings? Such animosity, from pecuniary motives, against an exhausted nation, has in it something so excessive, so unusual, that one must imagine other reasons in order to justify the expedition. If any credit is to be attached to recent official reports, what was due to French

subjects, and of which the payment was reserved by the law of suspension, originated in the reparation of injuries committed against their persons and interests.

But no one knows better than your excellency, M. le Ministre, that our debt to France has been paid by the government of M. Juarez, even when France was acknowledging M. Miramon as President of Mexico (a situation, perhaps, unique in history, where the title and honour of the Government are accorded to one party, while the expenses are charged on another). You know that in the midst of a civil war kindled by the Government acknowledged by France, the constitutional President, M. Juarez (the head of the unacknowledged government), has paid the French debt with a punctuality, that even this payment was so advanced that there wanted not more than about \$200,000 to cancel the debt, and that, consequently, the constitutional Government deserved some little commendation when, yielding to an insurmountable and evident necessity, it suspended payment for a time. And even if there were some grievances at the bottom of this debt in favour of France, it would still be undeniable, from the considerations above enumerated, that this suspension was no reason for pushing things to such extremities. But let me be allowed, also, to represent to you, M. le Ministre, that the debt in question, comprising according to conventions and posterior declarations every kind of responsibility, even affairs of *agiotage*, it was neither loyal nor just to assign as a sole source of its iniquities and injuries.

May I be permitted, M. le Ministre, to express my astonishment at learning from you that the Government of

the Emperor has millions to claim from that of Mexico. But under what title? On what proofs? No one knows of them. No discussion can take place on this subject, from want of precise *data*, and yet the war begins. My Government denies having contracted with M. de Saligny the verbal engagement of which that Minister speaks, on account of the \$40,000 of the convention Penaud; and this is not the first time that contradictions have arisen in the relations of M. de Saligny with the Mexican Government. I should wish to suppose that M. de Saligny's prejudice against that Government are not to be taken into account, and have already had the honour of pointing out to your excellency those prejudices which, if they show themselves so strongly in his correspondence with you, are brought into still bolder relief in his correspondence with the Mexican Government. I am bound to suppose that his assertions are deemed by you worthy of credit, as are those of my Government by me; but it results from them that Mexico can no longer cultivate friendly relations with this Minister, seeing that these are no longer possible when one of the two parties has brought against the other a charge of falsehood. In such a case, your excellency must know, the simple consideration due to the Government of a friendly power demands the removal of the Minister. • •

Nevertheless, it is true that when it is desired to put an end to all friendly relations, and by a rupture and war, peaceful considerations are out of season.

In these documents other motives are assigned for this war, based on the insecurity of French subjects residing in Mexico, and M. de Saligny has forwarded a list of twenty-

three outrages committed on their persons and property during a space of about nine months.

One word on the subject of this list. The greater part of the crimes pointed out can only be imputed to reactionary bands, against whom the Government are actively engaged in war. In the relation of these excesses, there is clearly wanting one essential fact, the detail of the circumstances, which might entirely alter the case. It is not known from what sources the Minister derives his information, a fact not without importance in a question of acts committed at such great distances. There is not the slightest proof, the vaguest indications that the Mexican Government has been required to afford satisfaction in cases where it was due, according to the law of nations, and it is not even pretended that it has ever refused it. There is nothing to authorise such a supposition, while the Government has ever shown its disposition to do what is right in claims of this nature.

In a difference so deplorable I will never weary in invoking the principles and usages which guide the international relations of all nations with regard to the crimes in question, although I may, perhaps, perceive that these usages have been cast aside in the case of Mexico. Nevertheless, it is not only a right but a duty to protest against the employment of force as a substitute for reason and justice. These last may sometimes make themselves heard even in the councils of governments who disregard them. At all events, they exalt the character of a nation which can recognise and fight for them. Thus, then, M. le Ministre, such rules and such usages being admitted, it is clear that in using its best exertions, as the Mexican

Government is doing to prevent and punish such crimes, no government incurs the responsibility of them or loses in reputation by them, nor can the weight of war be cast upon it on account of them. With what justice can a government be accused of violating the laws of humanity, when the nation over which it rules, being distracted by civil war, certain misdeeds are perpetrated within its territory against the security of natives and foreigners? Assuredly the Italian Government was not subjected to such harsh qualifications nor to such hostile proceedings on account of the barbarous and cruel brigandage of Naples, sustained by the reactionary faction and combated by the Government, as is the case in Mexico. In France, even, where the nation enjoys profound peace, and where the Government exercises a power which enables it to act as it pleases, and with all the *apropos* of the moment, have we not just seen a long series of crimes brought to light, committed by a single individual for eight years?

Furthermore, M. de Saligny's despatches prove that the Government had provided with promptitude for the safety of the inhabitants of the capital, a subject which had before given rise to complaints.

With regard to the attempt made on the life of M. de Saligny, which is made to figure among the causes of the war, I have the honour to inform your excellency that the judicial enquiry, an account of which I remitted to you, fully explains the error into which that minister has fallen, and shows that the fancied cries of *death* were in reality acclamations in favour of France, and in reprobation of assassins of foreigners. The groups whence these cries

issued were composed of Mexicans and Frenchmen reciprocating friendly sentiments. Who could ever have imagined that from all this would have arisen accusations and motives of war?

Really, M. le Ministre, when I call to mind the calumnies, as atrocious as absurd, that many journals in France, in England, and in Spain have permitted themselves to put on record against Mexicans, their society, and their government — when I see that in France, even in the high regions of power, my Government is denounced as unscrupulous, and my countrymen as barbarous — when I find the good will and friendly cries of the latter towards France used against them in the bill of indictment — I cannot but entertain a conviction that national antipathies are to be found rather in Europe than among the inhabitants of Mexico.

I have two observations to make on the subject of this pretended attempt at assassination. From your despatches, already published, it appears that you attach no credit to the investigation and the judicial sentence which I had the honour to communicate to you. Nevertheless, evidence taken before the tribunals is surely the best mode there, as elsewhere, of arriving at the truth, both in cases of this nature and of all appertaining to a criminal jurisdiction. The Government could not but abide by the issue, and were bound to accept the verdict, which they have every reason to believe was a true one.

The second remark I have to make is, that your despatches say: ‘Under other circumstances we should have demanded also *a full enquiry, and, in the event of failure,*

suitable reparation. In the present state of affairs we can only add this fact to all those which impose upon us the necessity of having recourse to the employment of harsh measures against Mexico.' So, then, a matter, which, according to your own confession, deserves to be enquired into — a matter, the truth of which remains to be substantiated, you do not hesitate to enumerate among the motives of your resentment and your hostilities. On this occasion, M. le Ministre, I think I give a rare instance of moderation by forbearing to comment on these words.

The revolutions of Mexico are cast in the teeth of the Government. Why, then, be silent about others still more disastrous and bloody? Was it on account of the enormity of the wrongs which had given rise to them, and the greatness of the benefit produced, when they were suppressed? Now, I have the firm persuasion that few nations in the world have suffered so large an amount of evils as the Mexican from foreign domination, and few are the republics that have had to sustain, like ours, such cruel combats on the part of the privileged classes. With our revolutions, we have achieved the national independence; the liberty of slaves; the destruction of our clerical military oligarchy, which multiplied seditions and menaced incessantly the existence of the Republic; the liberty of conscience; civil marriage; the amelioration of the civil condition of foreigners, who have been placed on an equality with Mexicans; civil and political liberty; the elevation and fraternisation of races which had long been kept in a state of abject degradation and even in perpetual antagonism by the Spanish Government. And, since it is a question

of intervention and of importing into Mexico a foreign monarchy, it is certainly not improper to add that we reckon among the benefits derived from our revolution the establishment of republican institutions. Mexico loves them as dearly as France can love her empire; and to maintain the Republic we have made and are prepared to make every kind of sacrifice.

Anarchy and *misgovernment* — such are the gratuitous charges brought against Mexico, and which serve as a theme for the expedition of the allied powers. But these recriminations refer rather to the political intervention than to the avowed motive of the triple alliance—that is to say, to the demands for reparation for guarantees, since this reparation and these guarantees might be accepted by the Mexican Government, and the war would then be without object. But this language is clearly used to prevent an arrangement with the Mexican Government. Indeed, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière has affirmed, if I am rightly informed, that it is useless to treat with *anarchy*. Moreover, before all things, the Mexican nation has taken upon itself to reply to these charges. The war is at an end, leaving at most on the vast territory of the Republic three or four reactionary bands, feeble and incessantly pursued, and not even the shadow of that great party is seen which was said to be favourable to intervention and the foreign monarchy. The States of the Mexican confederation which were described as disagreeing with the Federal Government furnish a contingent larger than that which was required of them; the majority of the rebel chieftains have given in their adhesion to the Government, and are

soliciting for the honour of fighting against the invaders of their country. Mexico has risen like one man to defend its liberties. •

No, M. le Ministre, I repeat, none of the causes assigned either explains or justifies the violence of aggression, and even had the law for the suspension of payments, which is said to have worn out the patience of France, not been passed, Mexico would have met with no better treatment at her hands. This is not a mere supposition; it is an incontrovertible truth, demonstrated by facts anterior and posterior to that law. That law, indeed, was not in existence when M. de Saligny, even before being accredited to the President, permitted himself to begin his functions by treating the Mexican nation with a contempt of which there is no example on record, and personally embarrassing the action of the local authorities, under the pretext of protecting the sisters of charity, whom no one was attacking, who are not French, and with whom the French nation has nothing to do. This law did not exist when the same Minister threatened the Government and nation with certain ruin, if the propositions of M. Jecker were not adhered to — a *stock-jobbing affair* concluded between him and the so-called government of M. Miramon.

It was then, as I have already stated to your excellency, that M. de Saligny wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that, knowing he was protected by France, M. Jecker felt that he could attempt anything. This law was not passed when your excellency, in our first interview, informed me that your government had come to an understanding with that of England to treat Mexico with rigour; and you may

remember that you assigned (in explanation of these threats and of the agreement entered into by the two States, and of that affair of Jecker, and other financial arrangements proposed by M. de Saligny and refused by Mexico) motives which assuredly have nothing in common with the law of nations and duties of humanity, which the Government of Mexico is accused of violating. This law was not then in existence, and your excellency opposed to my regular and official reception reasons which you subsequently were not able nor willing to sustain.

Since the promulgation of this law, your excellency has formally refused to listen to the explanations that I was desired by my Government to offer to that of the Emperor, as if the moments consecrated to giving, at least, an appearance of justification and love of peace were to France an intolerable sacrifice of time. Since the adoption of this law, the Government of the United States has offered to that of the Emperor to pay the interest of the French debt of Mexico, and as that debt does not produce any interest, and was to be paid by instalments, the interest offered by the cabinet of Washington was a reasonable compensation for the delays in the payment of that part of the debt due, and a gratuitous benefit on what remains to be paid; but the Government of the Emperor refused the arrangement.

If this law were indeed the true cause of the rupture and hostilities, why, instead of being suspended by its abrogation, were warlike preparations increased?

Since its abrogation an essential change has taken place in the policy of the allied powers against the Republic. Wrongs, satisfactions, and guarantees, are now secondary

considerations, and the real motive is revealed. It is, in fact, a question of political intervention in Mexico, having for its object to force upon her as king a foreign prince. This revelation explains everything. The French Government did not desire peace with Mexico. For a long time that Government, either through its head or by its agents, has not uttered a word, nor written a line about the Republic, that was not inspired by anger and contempt, and this in defiance of reason and decorum. Such is the peace it left to Mexico—a miserable peace; and, whatever may be said to the contrary, it is Mexico and not France that has given reiterated proofs of an exemplary patience. The sympathies of France have for a long time been reserved for that ephemeral Government which holds sway in Mexico, which she hastened to acknowledge, and supported with efficacy, leaving, as a charge to the present Government, the liabilities which, even when just, could not be imputed but to its adversaries. But for this protection, the civil war in Mexico, with all its horrors, would not have been thus prolonged. Her sympathies still remain with the partisans of this faction in Mexico, as well as with its agents who come to Paris to conspire against their country, and to press the French Government to invade it, as the discontented Greeks did at Sûsa and the French emigrants at Coblenz.

It is evident, M. le Ministre, that in order to cover the political intervention and the importation of a foreign monarchy into Mexico, by means of the combined expedition, it is pretended that force is not to be employed, but that the wishes of the Mexicans are to be consulted and

respected. A proclamation has also been issued by the allied powers, inviting the Mexicans to proceed at once to the work of their political regeneration. But even supposing this deference for public opinion to be sincere, who does not see clearly that this manifesto, emanating from the combined forces, is already the commencement of a political intervention? What has become of the respect due to the sovereignty and independence of nations, with this act calling in question and submitting to the ballot a government which Mexico has chosen by the universal suffrage of her citizens? This illegal summons is not only an intermeddling in the affairs of a nation, but a flagrant incitement to rebellion, to which a favour, a support, is granted that does not lessen the offence from its being only of a moral character; but I do not hesitate to add that from assent and sympathy they must pass to the use of violence, since the march of the expedition on the capital is already decided upon, and the ultimatum would thus be of such a nature that it could not be accepted; besides, as the chiefs of the invading forces might qualify at pleasure the national will, it would be they who would impose upon Mexico the form and constitution of the government.

We saw, in 1814, the powers allied against France protesting, after the invasion, that they did not interfere in the question of the national Government. Then, also, petitions and official deliberations appeared, which seem to be of a spontaneous character, in favour of the Bourbons, and the Allies seemed to yield to public opinion; but, your excellency knows better than I, France never suffered herself to be deceived by these appearances, and for her the restoration was still the act of the foreigner.

Mexico would as little be persuaded of the forbearance of the Allies in any change of her Government brought about through the presence and the manifestations of a foreign force.

It was necessary to suppress history, to disregard proofs innumerable, and belie daily relations, to arrive at the conclusion that the Government of Mexico is an unscrupulous government, and the country 'barbarous;' and yet this is done in some of your official documents. It was necessary; for in what other manner could the enormous outrage be justified, which is about to be committed upon us in open violation of the great principle of *non-intervention*, which was regarded as one of the most precious conquests of the new laws of nations? This law has been violated by the commencement of hostilities and the occupation of Vera Cruz, in the name of the three powers allied against Mexico, without any demands having been made on Government, these being reserved for a later period. It is not possible that a cause can be just, or wear the semblance of justice, when its defenders have recourse to such means. What is the reason of these infractions and these wrongs perpetrated deliberately and without necessity? The weakness of Mexico. But she is not so weak as was Spain in the time of Napoleon I. Mexico may be conquered, but she cannot be subdued; nor will she be conquered without having given proofs of the courage and virtues that are denied her. Mexico, after having shaken off the monarchical dominion of Spain — a dominion secular and deeply rooted; Mexico, who would not have even her liberator for a king; Mexico, in short, who has just emerged victorious from a servile revolution against the remnant of an oligarchy which

was weighing on her democracy—will never accept, at any price, a foreign monarchy. This monarchy it will be very difficult to create, still more difficult to maintain. Such an enterprise will be ruinous and terrible for us, but it will not be less so for its promoters.* Mexico is weak, without doubt, in comparison with the powers that are invading her soil; but she possesses the consciousness of her outraged rights, the patriotism which will multiply her efforts, and the high convictions that, in acquitting herself with honour in this perilous struggle, it will be given to her to preserve the beautiful continent of Christopher Columbus from the cataclysm with which it is threatened.

I protest aloud. M. le Ministre, in the name of my Government, that all the evils that shall ensue from this unjustifiable war, caused either directly or indirectly by the action of the troops and the agents of France, will fall exclusively on the responsibility of its Government. For the rest Mexico has nothing to fear, if Providence protects the rights of a people who maintain them with dignity.

I have the honour, &c.

DE LA FUENTE.

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